CONSIDERATIONS TOVCHING TRADE,

With the advance of the *Kings* Revenue, and present Reparation of His MAIESTIE;

Containing these foure Heads

viz.
1. *From the Customes.*
2. *From Fines and Confiscations.*
3. *From Acts of Resumptions.*
4. *And from Subsidies.*

Humbly Represented to the view of the *Right Honourable high Court of* Parliament.

Printed in the yeare, 1641.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

CONSIDERATIONS

TOVCHING

TRADE;

With the advance of the Kings Revenue, and preſent Reparation of His *MAIESTIE.*

RIGHT HONOVRABLE,

AS one of the meaneſt (amongſt millions) carried in the publike Barke, ſo lately in an impetuous ſtorme; neither can I (as yet) ſay ſecured from the Naufrage; I have taken the boldneſſe to preſent your Honours (the members of the great Councell, of the King and Kingdome) with ſome conſiderations touching the heads of the title, which (as you like them) diſpoſe as you pleaſe and ſuffer me to be (as I deſire) obſcured, and to ſtand in the darke, as it

well Wiſher to my King, and Countrey, hoping that you will pardon my boldneſſe, if I preſent you with the publike feare; which is, that this Parliament will not be ſo propitious as it hath beene hoped, through your own faults, and the deſire that tranſports many of you to ſave his friend; whereby the reformation cannot have the full effect which it ought to have, which may caſt a brand on your endeavours, in fruſtrating the publike worke, or at leaſt leave an aſperſion on you for a lame and imperfect emendation.

It was the late Kings Oracle, that the ſeate of Iuſtice, which now you hold in the greateſt Iudicatory of the Kingdome; is neither a place to pleaſure friends, nor to wrong enemies; for you are *ſuum cuiq; tribuere*, without reſpect of perſons. And then as ſoone as you can, to remember the Kings graces, in conferring power upon you, whereby to right the publiques, who (in reſpect of his reparation) hath hitherto beene left out of your firſt conſiderations; which in due time is hoped, ſhall neither be forgotten nor ſo ſtinted, that the Limitation may leave behind it the leaſt reſentment of your neglect towards his Majeſties particular.

The advance of the Kings Revenue, with the payment of his debts, is doubtleſſe a taske of very great difficulty; ſo to doe it, as that the ſubject in generall (of late yeares ſtrangely oppreſt)

preſt) may not againe ſinke under that burthen, which may be impoſed by the Parliament, but that the houſe in Iuſtice will endeavour to ſaddle the right horſe.

Wherefore it is conceived, that there are but foure wayes, how (as from foure Fountaines) this worke may bee beſt done, and with leaſt grutch, to ſet the King upright.

And theſe are firſt:

1. From the Cuſtomes.
2. From Fines and Confiſcations.
3. From Acts of Reſumptions.
4. From Subſidies.

Now the greateſt of any one Income of the Kings, & that which may be much more if well managed, without doubt, is that which iſſueth from the trade, and commerce of the Kingdom, which are the cuſtomes; ſo that if trade be oppreſt, or impriſoned as now it is; and the monies of the Kingdome imbeziled and carried out, as ſince the laſt three yeares troubles it hath beene moſt exceſſively, both by the Dutch and French, you may be ſure to ſee (in a very ſhort ſpace) all the land in a generall Indigency and Beggery. For remedy whereof beſides divers peeces tending to this purpoſe; I have ſurveyed three Gentlemens honeſt endeavours. Firſt, that of Sir *Ralph Maddiſons*. 2. Secondly, that of Captaine *Roberts* (both in print.) Thirdly, a ſhort paper in Manuſcript of maſter *William*

Turnours. And from theſe you may draw excellent inſtructions, but I preſume Maſter *Turnours* paper of heads will yeeld you more, and by farre, the beſt furniſhments, both for home and forraine trade, with the advance thereof; if the over-merit of them hurt not, and that they bee well underſtood and ſecretly carried; with this Maxime; that a rich ſubject makes a rich Prince.

That the cuſtomes in future ſhall be executed by Commiſſion, is already conceived, to be reſolved by the wiſdome of the Houſe: for by this way the King ſhall be ſure, to have all that which the Farmers, and ſome others have (for many yeares paſt) ſhared and taken from His Majeſty by a great deale of Artifice, and to the great dammage of the univerſall trade of the Kingdome.

The whole proceedings whereof during theſe fourty yeares and upwards, no man knowes ſo well as Maſter *Turnour*, as one long verſed in trade, and ſtudied in the advance thereof, together with the ſecrets of the Farmes, and wayes of the Farmers.

The Contents of Maſter Turnours *ſecrets are as followeth.*

1. An evident way how to advance the trade of the kingdome.

2. An infallible way, how to preſerve the Kings cuſtomes from ſtealing, which ſhould it be

be put in practiſe, and preſently to vindicate the man, or the party from whence it was ſtolne.

3. How to vent all the native commodities of this Kingdome, were they farre more then now they are, at reaſonable and gayning rates, both to the Gentleman, Merchant, and countrey man, and therewith to buy up all ſtrangers commodities which may lye on their hands, and to ſerve the ſubject at reaſonable priſes, with as much as may ſuffice the Kingdome, and to vent and tranſport the reſt with advantage.

How to ſupply His Majeſty within ten dayes warning, with the value of his whole Revenue on any ſudden occaſion, or forraine Enterpriſe, (*gratis*) and ſo from yeare to yeare on the onely credit of his owne Revenue.

How to make the citie of *London* the great Mart and Empory of the world.

How to manage the fiſhing buſines with eaſe, and to the incredible inriching of the King and the Kingdome, and to the perpetuall honour of the Engliſh Nation.

Theſe are Maſter Turnours *principals, beſides ſome particulars, which are utterly loſt, if but publikely diſputed.*

For furtherance whereof a principall conſideration will be how to ſettle a Commiſſion for trade, by the authority of the King and the Parliament.

ment, with correſpondency to the Commiſſioners, for managing the Kings Revenue, wherein it is further to bee conſidered, what the houſe ſhall thinke fit to leave on His Majeſty of the preſent Impoſitions, leſt by taking away too much before it be conſulted by the Commiſſioners for trade, when and where to take it, the Kings Revenue may bee made of little conſideration: eſpecially when you ſhall looke backe to the many Alienations and diminutions of the Crowne Lands, and the houſe thereof may be deprived of doing that ſervice, which it is preſumed they meane to doe, and in that bountifull meaſure, as that it may remaine unparaleld to poſterity.

Wherefore it is conceived, that excepting ſome Monopolies which invade the liberty of the land, and intrench on the native commodities of the Kingdome, you can not well as yet and at preſent take away much, but rather leave it to bee taken away by the Commiſſioners for trade, which ſhould be moſt of them of both houſes with ſome Merchants, whereby as occaſion ſhall preſent it ſelfe, both the native and forraine Merchant might be encouraged, and the King with the ſubject in generall well pleaſed, with your diſcreet and provident proceedings, for as one of our weightieſt Authors obſerves, it cannot be well with a ſtate where the Prince and people ſeeke but to obtaine their ſeverall

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ends, and to worke upon the advantages of each others neceſſities,; where they ſhould go hand in hand in a reciprocall co-operation, for the advance of the publike, wherein the benevolence of the ſubject ſhould ever preceed, the better to draw on the Prince to a Royall retribution, and to comply with his people in all juſt and honorable conjectures.

The ſecond Fountaine, from whence His Majeſtie may beſt cheape bee repaied, is from fines and confiſcations, which in the Iuſtice of the houſe may bee laid on delinquents without partiality, and for the eaſe of the ſubject in generall, ſince it is impoſſible to ſet the King upright (onely by ſubſidies without beggering of the Countrey-man : Wherefore it is preſumed, that ſuch will be the wiſdome of the houſe, that they will lay a good part of the burthen on thoſe which would have laid perpetuall ſlavery and bondage on us all.

3. The third Fountaine from whence to repaire the King, is from Acts of Reſumptions, and theſe are of two ſorts.

1. Firſt, Bargaines and ſales made by the late Commiſſioners for ſale of His Majeſties lands, wherein if it may bee made apparent, that the King hath beene abuſed, and couſened in any particular of conſequence, and that there hath beene divers Bargaines not legally contracted for, and according to the limitation, and war-

rant of His Majesties Co[illegible] the King ought to be righted, since [illegible] that in this way there hath bi[illegible] fraudulent conveyance.

A second sort of Res[illegible] ch you account mee no Heretik[illegible] I tell you, (I doe not say ought to be take[illegible] from the Church, for that were sacriledge) should be the Bishops lands, which in the potency of the Papacy have beene, *quo jure*, ingrossed God knowes, and *cui bono*--with-held, judge you, and to what end, more then to the perpetuall disturbance of this Kingdome, and all the world: where a needlesse superfluity of temporall fortune hath been ever the bellowes to pride, and arroganey, and a restlesse ambition throughout all Ages inseparable & incident to the pontificiall Clergy which can never be extinguished, till the originall cause, abundance of temporall fortune, be removed, which hath ever bin the poyson of the Church. But with this proviso, that the Church may first be righted, I meane, that all the Impropriations of the land, heretofore meerly raped by the excesse of Episcopall power from the church, and annexed to their owne fees, or to the useless and idle Monasteries, may be first redeemed out of the Bishops lands, and reserted in the old and right place, for the better maintenance and encouragement of Schollers and able Divines, whereby the cures and chappels of Ease converted

verted into Barnes and Stables in many places of the Kingdom, as well as the Mother Churches, may be better ſerved then they have beene, the remainder to bee ſetled on the Duke of *Yorke*. And of this with the many and further reaſons thereof, both for the ſecurity of the King, and quiet of the Kingdome; May you be pleaſed to receive fuller ſatisfaction from a few papers apart, which happily may not be altogether unworthy of yours, and the Parliaments ſerious and ſecond conſideration.

4. The fourth Fountaine from whence to repaire, the King is from ſubſidies, which ſhould they not be ſparingly impoſed. It muſt neceſſarily begger moſt of the poore inferiour Yeomandry of the Kingdome. Since it is conceived, that 20. ſubſidies cannot ſet the King upright, which (I ſay) ſhould they be levyed upon poore Renters and Farmers (generally indebted) and of late yeares much caſt behind hand, through the late troubles and fall of their commodities, would ruine many a poore man. For twenty Subſidies amounts to 20. markes to him that is rated at 5 l. goods, and to 20. l. to him that is rated at 4 l. lands; which muſt inforce one of theſe evils, if he bee not aforehand, to ſell halfe his Cowes, or halfe his Teame to pay the King, who may perhaps owe the Vſurer for all the ſtock he imployes.

And here the inequality, and unconſcionable

diſproportion of rating of the ſubſidies, may be opportunely preſented unto your conſideration, wherin the old Riddle is fully verified, that *Dewce ace* cannot, *ſice ſinke* will not, but *cater trey* muſt, the poorer ſort cannot pay the King: the greater ſort, as having the law in their owne hands, will pay but what they pleaſe, but the middle ſort, they muſt and ſhall pay; and in ſuch a diſproportion as is inſufferable; for demonſtration whereof.

Iohn a ſtyle hath in the pariſh of *Alcat* 100l. land *per annum*: And it is all the eſtate hee hath, the Seſſors rates him at 5.l. lands, which is the uſuall ratement for men of that quality; Sir *William a Downes* hath in ſeverall counties and pariſhes 1000.l. *per annum*, reſides at *Grantham*, where he is of the Commiſſion of the peace; and can eaſe himſelfe, and is rated at 20.l. lands, and ſends his Certificate from *Grantham*, how he hath there paid the ſubſidies, which acquits him in all other places.

Sir *Iohn a Nokes* hath in divers counties and pariſhes 10000. l. land *per annum*, and is rated 100. l. lands. Now the Parliament for reliefe of the King, grants His Majeſties ten entire ſubſidies, which for *Iohn a ſtyles*, payment, ariſeth to ten pounds: Sir *William a Downes* payment, (whoſe eſtate in true valuation is ten times to that of *Iohn a ſtyles*) ariſeth to 40. l. which ratably ſhould be 100.l. ſo that the King is couſ-

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ned by Sir *William a Downes* 60. l. in one hundred.

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Wherefore you can never doe your ſelves more right, then to redreſſe this abuſe, where you may doe ſuch a ſervice for the King, as that his Majeſty may bee brought in love with you, and with Parliaments, and therewith manifeſt it to the world, that you came not to the houſe to conteſt and capitulate with Soveraignty, but to winne his Majeſty your loyaltie and bounty, and to cure that wound, which others have made almoſt incureable through their infincerity,

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ty, and preferring of their perillous and desperate counsels, before safe and faithfull advise. And for the better explanation of the even and just rating of lands. If the Parliament shall thinke fit to sesse every 100. l. land a yeare that a man hath, to pay 20. s. for a Subsidy.

Then if *Iohn a Nokes* hath 100. l. a yeare, (whereof 50. l. a yeare lies at *Lambeth*) there hee must pay 10. s. & hath 25. l. land a yeare at *Kensington*, there he must pay 5. s. and other 25. l. at *Islington*, where he must pay the other 5. s. And this proportion to be sessed ratably for every mans estate, in severall parts where it lyes.

Some considerations which have not as yet beene spoken of in Parliament, from whence both the King and the Subject (as they may be handled) may reape both infinite profit and contentment, whereof two principals are here offered to your consideration.

The first is touching the Court of Wards which concernes none but the rich men of the Kingdome.

The second is touching such a Manufacture, as concernes both all the poore and rich men of the Kingdome, which (introduced) will necessarily set all the idle and poore people of the land to worke, and inable them to get an honest living, after the patterne of *Edward* the third, who first introduced the woollen Manufacture, which (to this day) imployes

a Million of poore People, which without it, within 3. Monthes would ſtarue for want of a ſubſiſtance, for let no man flatter himſelfe that the wools in *England* (were they double in quantity to that which now they are) can imploy all the people of the land, for that the fourth part of the Inhabitants of moſt of the pariſhes of *England*, are miſerable poore people: and (harveſt time excepted) without any ſubſiſtance, the number whereof, daily grow and increaſe, without any regard to the redreſſe.

And therefore there can be no ſuch prevention ſo ready and profitable, both for the inriching of the King and the ſubject, as the re-inforcing of the ſowing of hempe and flaxe throughout every pariſh of the Kingdome, which amongſt divers others, (I know not on what ground) were repeald, *ultimo* of the late Queene, the effects whereof, would be many, both pious and profitable, as

Firſt, this manufacture alone, would without doubt imploy all the poore people of the land in the very places of their aboade.

Secondly, in very ſhort time wee might all weare our owne lynnen, and therewithall export ſome.

Thirdly, wee might uſe our owne ſayles, and cordage, and as good as any is in Europe.

Fourthly, wee might ſave the Kingdome 500000. *per annum*, with the leaſt, expence for lynnen and cordage, to forraigne nations.

And

And of both theſe, as you ſhall approve, you may receive many notable remembrances, both concerning this Manufacture, and the proceedings of this Parliament, touching the Court of Wards, about 11. *Iacobi*, where it was then in queſtion to be compounded for, by the Parliament, with divers paſſages therein, not unfit for your preſent conſideration, if compared with the exceſſive compoſitions there now impoſed, with what in future they may come unto, to the utter ruine of your poſterities. Since the world knowes that the undoing of poor Orphanes (committed by the lawes of the land to the Kings Protection) ſuits not with the nobleneſſe and goodneſſe of the Kings nature: Beſides, the worke-manſhip of Feoders and Eſcheators in the inthraling of the ſubject, and deflowring of the ancient Tenures of the Kingdom, and in drawing in of all the lands (as in ſhort time it may be expected) held in ſoccage, within the Tenure of military ſervice. For if his Majeſty may have more rent then now is, rayſed by the Compoſitions, and the ſubject better contented, when in his life time, he knowes both his owne and his ſonnes payment. I ſee no reaſon but this propoſition may bee acceptable, both to the Soveraigne and ſubject, eſpecially when you ſhal not only know the utter-moſt of your paines, but preſerve your poſterity from falling into a more intricate Labarinth, then is commonly taken into every mans regard.

FINIS.

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THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE PROTESTANT INHABITANTS OF the Counties of *Antrim*, *Downe*, *Tyrone*, &c. part of the Province of *Vlster* in the Kingdome of *Ireland* concerning Bishops.

Expressed in thirtie one heads of Grievances, by reason of their Overruling Lordly power.

As it was Presented to the Right Honourable Assembly, the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, of the House of Commons in this present Parliament.

And accepted of that Honourable House.

LONDON,
Printed 1641.

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE PROTESTANT INHABITANTS OF the Counties of Antrim, Down, &c.

The Humble Petition of the Protestant Inhabitants of the Counties of *Antrim Downe, Tyrone*, &c. part of the Province of *Ulster*, in the Kingdome of *Ireland*. As it was humbly Presented to the Right Honourable Assembly of Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in this present Parliament. And accepted of that Honourable House.

To Your Petitioners,

HUmbly representeth unto your grave wisedomes, and judicious considerations, that your Petitioners having translated themselves out of several parts of his Majesties kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, to promote the infant Plantation of *Ireland*, wherein your Petitioners by their great labour and industry, so much contributed to the settlement of that Kingdome: As they were in a most hopefull way of a comfortable abode, and when they expected to reape the fruit of their great and long labour, partly by the cruell severitie and arbitrarie proceedings, of the civill Magistrate, but principally through the unblest way of the Prelacy with their faction, our soules are starved, our estates undone, our families impoverished, and many

lives among us, cut off and destroyed;

The Prelates, (whose pretended authoritie, though by some published to be by divine right, as wee humbly conceive is directly against the same) have by their Canons of late, their Fines, fees, and Imprisonments at their pleasure; their Silencing, Suspending, Banishing, and Excommunicating of our learned and conscionable Ministers, their obtruding upon us, ignorant, erroneous, and prophane persons to be our Teachers, their censuring of many hundreds even to Excommunication, for matters acknowledged by all to be indifferent and not necessary, their favouring Popery (in this Kingdome a double fault) their persecuting puritie, and indevouring to bring all to a liveleſſe formalitie, divers of them being notorious incendiaries of the unquietneſſe and unsettled estate betweene these Kingdomes, with many the like, too tedious to relate, as more fully in our insuing Grievances doth appeare. These our cruell Task-masters have made of us, who were once a people, to become (as it were) no people, an astonishment to our selves, the object of pittie and amazement to others, and hopeleſſe of remedie, unleſſe hee with whom are bowels of compassion worke in you an heart to interpose for your Petitioners reliefe.

They therefore most humbly pray, that this unlawfull Hierarchicall government with all their appendices may bee utterly extirpate, such course laid downe, as to your great wisdomes shall seeme meete, for repa-

ration

ration in ſome meaſure of our unutterable damages ſuſtained by the parties thus injuriouſly grieved; your Petitioners ſettled in a way, whereby their perſecuted Miniſters may have leave to returne from exile, and bee freed from the unjuſt cenſure impoſed on them, and an open doore continued unto us for proviſion of a powerfull and able Miniſtry, the onely beſt way to promote Plantation, and ſettle the kingdome in the profeſſion and practiſe of true religion; which as it is the earneſt expectation, ſo it ſhall be the daily prayer of many thouſands your Petitioners, who will ever intreat the Lord for your direction herein, and in all other your weighty and important affaires, as becommeth your poore Petitioners, &c.

A particular of manifold Evils, and heavy preſſures cauſed, and occaſioned by the Prelacie, and their dependants.

1 BEfore they had ſo much as a pretended Canon, for their warrant the Prelates urged their Ceremonies with ſuch vehemency, that divers of our moſt learned and painfull Miniſters for not obeying them were Silenced, and many of us for the like oppreſſed in their Courts.

2 In the yeare 1634. they made ſuch Canons and conſtitutions Eccleſiaſticall, as injoyned many corruptions in the worſhip of God, and government of the Church, which exceedingly retarded the worke of reformation to the true Proteſtant

ſtant Religion, animated Papiſts, and made way for divers popiſh ſuperſtitions.

3 Our moſt painfull, godly, and learned Miniſters were by the Biſhops and their Commiſſaries ſilenced and deprived for not Subſcribing and Conforming to the ſaid unlawfull Canons; yea, through the horneſſe of their perſecution forced to flee the Land, and afterwards Excommunicated, to the danger of all, and loſſe of ſome of their lives.

4 In their places others were obtruded, not onely ignorant, lazy, and lukewarme, but many of them unſound in doctrine, prophane in life, and cruell in perſecution.

5 Many, though ſufficiently furniſhed, were not admitted to the miniſtery, onely for not ſwallowing downe their groundleſſe innovations, yea ſome, though conforme, yet for ſtrictneſſe in life, were likewiſe kept out.

6 Good and painfull Miniſters are not ſuffered to exerciſe that function which God hath called them unto, nor ſuffered to enjoy any living, whereas the Biſhops doe hold by *Commendam* many livings, beſides thoſe propet to their Biſhopricks; and doe conferre livings upon their children and retainers, *ſtudendi gratiâ* (as is pretended); and divers Benefices, as foure, five, ſixe, or more upon their favourites; Hence

7 The cure of ſoules are commited to hyrelings, who receive 5. 6, 8. or 10. pounds by the yeare for their cures; Divers of which are put together to the charge of ſome illiterate curate, by

which

which meanes, the people perish for want of food, though the Parson or Vicar, through connivance of the Bishop is utterly non resident, and by each one of the many Benefices he injoyeth, hath a competent allowance for a moderately-minded man, to maintaine himselfe and family upon.

8 Whereas the Bishops should give all good example, by painfull preaching and holy conversation, they preach very rarely themselves, and like these in the Gospell, who will neither enter themselves, nor suffer others to enter, they have suppreſt divers others from preaching, both on the afternoone on the Lords day, and in many places where weekly Lectures were maintained, either by the free-will of the Minister, or cost of the people, they have utterly forbidden the same, and showne all manner of discountenance to those who were forward therein, so that a Lecturing Minister appeared before them, under more prejudice then a popish Priest, or undermining Iesuite;

9 Least those who could not bee admitted into the ministery, undertaking to teach Schoole, should there lay impressions of piety and good learning, they urge on the very Schoolemasters a subscription beyond what is enjoyn'd by their owne Canon, and punish by Excommunication, and otherwise the refusers thereof; So as the Schooles formerly much frequented, are now utterly desolate, to the spoyle of youth and promoting of prophaneneſſe and ignorance.

10 Thus whiles they proceed so severely and unjustly

iniustly in punishing the refusers to their unlaw-full commands, though other wise never so honest and able men, they favour popery to the continu-ance, and great increase thereof, Hence,

11 Popish titulary Bishops are by them winked at in the exercise of jurisdiction from Forraine power; Masse priests are frequent, and pretend a title to every parish in the Kingdome, Masses pub-likely celebrated without controlement, to the great griefe of Gods people, and increase of ido-latry and superstition.

12 They permit Frieries and Nunneries to bee within their Dioceses, whereby they continue and increase of late in many places, yea divers of them suffered to remaine in the very places where some of the Bishops have their speciall residence.

13 In many places of the Land where Prote-stants are forbidden and restrain'd, Papists are permitted to keepe Schooles, unto some whereof such multitudes of children and young men doe resort, that they may be esteemed rather Univer-sities, teaching therein not onely the tongues, but likewise the liberall Arts and Sciences.

14 They set forth and suffer to bee published wicked Libells and ungodly Pamphlets, tending to sedition, faction, and disunion of the British Inhabitants, such as *Examen conjurationis Scotica, Lysimachus, Nicanor*, &c. And in their Sermons, Prayers, and ordinary Table-talke, divers of the Bishops in matters quite besides their Calling, have not desisted to rayle, curse, and most bitterly inveigh against the Kingdome of *Scotland*, and

all

all their proceedings labouring to make them odious, thereby proving themselves firebrands of sedition betweene the two Nations; yea, proclaiming their prophanesse by drinking healths to the confusion of that Nation.

15 The most learned and seemingly moderate and pious of the prelates, publikely in Sermons at *Dublin*, exclaimed against, and condemned the Scottish Covenant and Religion profest in that Kingdome with most invective tearmes; And in the Starre-chamber in *Dublin*, at the censure of *Henry Stewart* Esquire, his Wife and two Daughters, and *Iames Gray*, for refusing to take an oath, for which there was no other ground then the Earle of *Straffords* command, which was against the Covenant of *Scotland*, uttered these "words, *These people with* Corah, Dathan, *and* "Abiram, *doe withstand the ordinance of God, and* "*therefore I leave them to the judgement of* Corah, "Dathan, *and* Abiram.

16 They have frequently made Symonicall pactions and bargaines in the conferring of Benefices, and ordinarily permit Ministers to exchange their livings, thereby to nullifie Leases of tithes, which the former incumbent Ministers have let at certaine rates.

17 The Prelates have usually appointed such men to be their Commissaries, Officials, and Registers, who altogether neglecting the punishment of vices cognizable in their Courts looke onely to their owne gaine; Hence

18 Though they pretend themselves the advancers

vancers of vertue, and punishers of vice, yet they usually without further satisfaction absolve the most scandalous persons for a summe of money, and often question not at all such from whom they privately before-hand receive such a summe, which is a cause that many wickednesses doe more and more abound.

20 If any bee presented by their Apparitors (who are usually Papists) if it bee but for non-paiment of the Clerkes groat, or not observing some one of their most trivolous injunctions; yea, though the party presented bee not found culpable, yet they require most excessive and unjust fees; And if their demands bee not satisfied, (though never so great poverty might plead for mercy) they presently proceed to the censure of excommunication, thus vainely and blasphemously abusing the high ordinance of God, so many hundreds of us remaine under that censure, and multitudes constrained to run out of the Land, to the undoing of them and theirs.

21 The Prelats that they might manage *Peters* sword aswell as his keyes have some of them procured that most unlawfull Writ of assistance, whereby his Majesties Officers and Ministers are required to yeeld assistance unto the Bishop his Officiall, or any deputed by him; which Writ is by their Officers most notoriously abused, and many times put into the hands of their Apparitours, who under colour thereof apprehend honest men and women, casting them into prison, untill they be forced to free themselves by an heavy composition.

21 They

21 They charge Churchwardens with Articles farre beyond their understanding, to every particular whereof, if they refuse to answer or present, then are they bound to answer for it at Councell table, or high Commission court, or both, and though there acquitted, yet no remedy left them for their great damages.

22 They force Churchwardens to attend all their visitation and circular Courts; And there, for their Articles, Oathes, Admissions, and Discharges, they make them pay most excessive and undue fees, never before practised or required.

23 The communications for penance, which either should not be at all, or if exacted, then set apart for the poore, and other pious uses commeth either to the Prelates kitchin, and Commissaries purse, or both;

24 The Prelates and their faction, as they inherite then superstition of the Papacy, so of late they exact with all severity the absolute customes of S. *Mary gallous*, Mortuaries, Portions, *&c.* which as they were given by superstition and used to Idolatry, so now they are taken by oppression and applied to riotousnesse.

25 They have also constantly practised and suffered, the buying and selling of the Sacraments, which is an heavy burden; And where the poore have not to pay the Minister and Clerkes fees, they will not marry them, nor suffer their dead to be buried.

26 In the high Commission court against all law and equitie, they sit as Iudges in their owne

cause, and take Coghizance of the highest and smallest matters, going therein without controll; Hence

27 In the said Court they usurpe with an high hand the judicature of civill causes, impose Fines, beyond all bounds, and imprison at their pleasure, whereby many have beene utterly undone.

28 They proceed in the said Court, by way of most cruell and lawlesse inquisition, not onely into mens actions and words, but reaching even to their very thoughts, in imposing that most unlawfull oath *Ex officio*, to force to accuse, not onely others, but likewise their owne selves, contrary to law, and the very maximees of nature; And if any refuse to take this oath, then are they imprisoned, and fined beyond measure, to the ruine of all that fall under the weight of their indignation.

29 Divers of the Prelates did joyntly frame and wickedly contrive with the Earle of *Strafford*, that most lawlesse and scandalous oath imposed upon the Scottish-Britrish among us, who were Protestants, for receiving all commands indefinitely; And some of the Prelates were the occasion, that women and maids should be forced thereunto; Hence Commissions issuing to all places for the exacting of it, they were persecuted with so much rigour, that very many as if they had beene traytours in the highest degree, were searched for, apprehended, examined, reviled, threatned, imprisoned, fettered together by threes and foures in Iron yoakes, some in chaines carried

ried up to *Dublin*, in Starre-chamber fined in thouſands beyond abilitie, and condemned to perpetuall impriſonment; Divers poore women but two dayes before delivery of children were apprehended, threatned, and terrified; others of them two or three dayes after child-birth, ſo narrowly ſearched for, that they were faine to flee out of all harbour, into woods, mountaines, caves, and corne-fields, and many dayes and nights together abſent themſelves, to the impayring of the health of very many, the death of divers, and loſſe of their goods, which the enemy at their pleaſure made havocke of. Theſe, with many more unexpreſſible, have beene the wofull effects of the Oath drawne up by advice of the Prelates, and ſo unjuſtly preſt by authority of the Earle of *Strafford*.

30 The Prelates with their faction have beene injurious, not onely to the ſpirituall, but alſo to the temporall eſtates of moſt men; for under colour of Church lands they have injuriouſly ſeized into their hands, much of the beſt lands in every County, ſo that there is ſcarce a Gentleman of any worth, whom they have not bereaved of ſome part of his inheritance, few daring to oppoſe their unjuſt demands; and if any did, yet none able to maintaine their juſt titles, againſt their power and oppreſſion.

31 By their wayes have they enivated and undone many families, deſtroyed and caſt away thouſands of ſoules, and moreover in their owne perſons have beene a ſcandall to the Goſpell, and

a ſtumbling blocke even to the common enemy; by their ſwearing, curſing, drunkenneſſe, Sabbath-breaking, &c. having ſuch ſervants uſually in their Families, as are the moſt prophane in the Kingdome, few others countenanced by them, but ſuch, and if any ſeeme to be of an holy life, he is ſcorned and perſecuted by them.

Thus they publiſhing and proclaiming themſelves the children of Iſhmael *and* Eau, *wee moſt humbly beſeech you as the true ſons of* Iſrael *to take order with them as God ſhall direct, whom wee ſhall ever pray to be ayding, and aſsiſtant unto you in this great and glorious worke of reformation.*

FINIS.

Remarkable 3 May 18.

PROPOSITIONS

By the

COVNCELL

IN

Parliament

IRELAND,

K.

Humbly

Recommended to the Parliament in *England*, desiring them to move the Judges to deliver their Resolutions concerning the ensuing Questions, being in number 21.

Together with the Declaration of both Houses of Parliament, *Die Iovis* 12. *May*, 1642.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, That the said Declaration shall be forthwith Printed and Published.

John Brown Cler. Parl.

Printed at London for *W. G.* and are to be sold by *T. Bates*, 1642.

Remarkable May 12.

PROPOSITIONS

By the

COVNCELL

IN

IRELAND,

Humbly

Recommended to the Parliament in England,

desiring them to move the Judges to deliver the

Resolutions concerning the ensuing Questions,

being in number 21.

Together with the Declaration of both Houses of Parliament, Die Iovis 12. May, 1642.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, That the said Declaration shall be forthwith Printed and Published.

John Brown Cler. Parl.

Printed at London for W. G. and are to be sold by T. Bates, 1642.

Propositions by the Parliament in Ireland, humbly desiring the Parliament in England to move the Judges to deliver their Resolutions.

IN as much as the Subjects of this Kingdome are free, loyall, and dutifull subjects to his most excellent Majesty, their naturall Liege Lord and King, and to be governed only by the Common Laws of England, and Statutes of force in this Kingdome, in the same manner and forme as his Majesties subjects of the Kingdome are and ought to bee governed by the said Common Lawes and Statutes of force in that Kingdome, which of right the subjects of this Kingdome doe challenge, and make their protestation to be their birthright and best inheritance.

In as much as the unlawfull actions and proceedings of some of his Majesties Officers and Ministers of Iustice of late yeares introduced and practised in this Kingdome, did tend to the infringing and violation of the lawes, liberties, and freedoms of the said subjects, contrary to his Majesties royall and pious intentions.

Therefore the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parlia-

Parliament assembled, not for any doubt or ambiguity which may be conceived or thought concerning the premisses, nor of the ensuing Questions, but for manifestation and declaration of a cleare truth, and of the said Lawes and Statutes already planted in this Kingdome.

The said Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses do therefore pray both houses of Parliament may joyn in requiring the Iudges forthwith to declare in writing their Resolutions of, and unto the ensuing Questions, and subscribe to the same.

1. Whether the Subjects of this Kingdome be a free people, and to be governed only by the Common Lawes of England, and Statutes of force in this Kingdome?

2. Whether the Iudges of this Land do take the oath of Iudges, and if so, whether upon pretence of any Act of State, Proclamation, Letter, or Direction under the Great or Privy Seale, or Privy Signet, or Letter, or other Commandment from the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, Iustice or Iustices, or other chiefe Governour of this Kingdome, they may hinder, stay, or delay the suit of any subject, or his Iudgement or Execution thereupon. If so, in what cases, and whether if they doe hinder, stay, or delay such suits, judgements or executions thereupon, what punishment doe they incurre therefore?

3. Whether the Kings Majesties Privy Counsell, either with the chiefe Governour or Governours of this Kingdome, or without him or them, be a place of Iudicature by the Common Lawes: and whether in cases betweene party and party for debts, trespasses, accounts,

accounts, poſſeſſion, or triall of Land, and which of them may be heard and determined; and of what Civill cauſes they have juriſdiction, and by what Law, and of what force is their Order or Decree in ſuch caſes, or any of them.

4. The like of the chiefe Governour alone.

5. Whether grants of Monopolies bee warranted by Law, and of what; and in what caſes, and how, and where, and by whom are the tranſgreſſors againſt ſuch grants puniſhable: and whether by fine, mutilation of members, impriſonment, loſſe, or forfeiture of goods, or otherwiſe; and which of them?

6. In what caſes the Lord Lieutenant, or other chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdome, and Councell, may puniſh by fine, mutilation of members, Pillory, or otherwiſe; whether they may ſentence any to ſuch puniſhments for infringing commands of, or concerning any Proclamation, or and concerning Monopolies; and what puniſhment doe they incurre that vote for the ſame?

7. Of what force is an Act of State or Proclamation in this Kingdome, to binde the liberties, goods, poſſeſſions, or inheritance of the natives thereof; whether they or any of them can alter the Common Law, or the infringers of them, loſe their goods, chattels, or leaſes, or forfeit the ſame for infringing any ſuch Act of State, Proclamation, or both; and what puniſhment doe the Iudges of the Law that are Privie Councellors incurre, that vote for ſuch Acts, or execution thereof?

8. Are the ſubjects of this Kingdome ſubject to the Marſhall Law; and whether any man in time of peace, and no enemy being in the field with banner diſplaid,

can be sentenced to death: if so, by whom, and in what case; if not, what punishment doe they incurre, that in time of peace doe execute Marshall Law?

9. Whether voluntarily oathes taken freely before Arbitrators, for affirmance or disaffirmance of any thing, be punishable in the Castle Chamber, or any other Court, and why, and wherefore?

10. Why, and by what Law, and by what rule of policy is it, that none is admitted to reducement of fine or other penalties in the Castle Chamber, or Councell Chamber, untill he confesse the offence for which he is censured?

11. Whether the Iudges of the Kings Bench, or any of the Iudges of the Gaole delivery, or any other Court, and by what Law doe or can deny the copies of indictments of felony or treason to the parties accused, contrary to the law?

12. What power hath the Barons of the Exchequer to raise the respit of homage arbitrarily, to what rate they please, by what Law they may distinguish betweene the respit of homage upon the diversity of the true value of the fees, whereas Escuage is the same for great and small fees, and are proportionable by Parliament?

13. Whether it be censurable in the subiects of this Kingdome to repaire into England to appeale unto his Majesty for redresse of injury, or for other lawfull occasions, if so, why and what condition of persons, and by what law?

14. Whether Deanes, and other dignitories of Cathedrall Churches, be properly, and *de iure* donative, and not elective and collative; if so, why and

and by what Law, and whether the confirmation of a Deane *de facto* of the Bishops grant be good and valid in Law, if not, by what Law?

15. Whether the issuing of *Quo warranto* out of the Kings Bench or Exchequer, against Burroughes that anciently sent Burgesses to the Parliament, to shew cause why they sent Burgesses, be legall; if not, what punishment ought to be inflicted upon them that have beene the occasioners, procurers, and Iudges of and in such *Quo warranto's*?

16. By what Law are Iurors that give verdict according to their consciences, and are the sole Iudges of the facts censured in the Castle Chamber in great fines, and sometimes Pillory, with losse of eares, and bored through the tongue, and marked sometimes in the forehead with a hot iron, and other like punishments?

17. By what Law are men censurable in the Castle Chamber, with mutilation of members, or any other brand of infamy; and in what causes, and what punishment in each cause there is due, without respect of the quality of persons?

18. Whether in the Censures in the Castle Chamber regard be to bee had to the words of the great Charter, *viz. Salvo contenemento.*

19. Whether if one that steales a sheepe, or commit any other felony, and after flyeth the course of Iustice, or lyeth in woods or mountaines, upon his keeping bee a traytor, if not, whether a proclamation can make him so?

20. Whether the testimony or verdict of Rebells, Traytors, protected Theeves, or other infamous persons, be good evidence in law to be prefled at the triall of

of men for their lives; or whether the Iudge or Iurors ought to be Iudge of the matter in fact?

21. By what Law are Fayres and Markets to be held *in Capite*, when no other expresse tenure is mentioned in his Majesties Letters Patents or Grants of the same Fayres or Markets, although the rents or yearly sum be reserved thereout?

Die Iovis 12. *May*, 1642.

The Declaration of both Houses of Parliament

THe Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament doe declare, That they are resolv'd to maintaine those Lords and Gentlemen, Committees of both Houses of Parliament residing at York, in those things they have done, and shall further doe in obedience of their Commands for the preserving the peace of the Kingdome.

The Lords and Commons doe declare, That if any person whatsoever shall arrest, or imprison the persons of those Lords and Gentlemen, or any of them, or any member of either House, that are, or shall be imployed in the service of both Houses of Parliament; or shall offer violence to them, or any of them, for doing of any thing in pursuance of their Commands, or the Instructions of both Houses, given unto them, shall be held Disturbers of the proceedings of Parliament, and publike enemies of the State. And that all persons are bound by their Protestation, to endeavour to bring them to condign punishment.

The Lords and Commons doe declare, That those of the City of London, and all other persons that have obeyed the Ordinance for the Militia, and done any thing in execution thereof, have done it according to the Law of the Land, and in pursuance of what they were commanded by both Houses of Parliament, and for the defence and safety of the King and Kingdome, and shall have the assistance of both Houses of Parliament, against any that shall presume to question them, for yeilding their obedience to the said command, in their necessary and respective service; And that whosoever shall obey the said Ordinance for the time to come, shall receive the same approbation and assistance from both Houses of Parliament.

FINIS.

A LETTER FROM THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE

Ferdinando Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *Henry Cholmley*, Committees of the Commons house of Parliament residing at *Yorke*.

TOGETHER,

With a Relation of all the passages at the great meeting at *Yorke*, on Thursday the 12. of this instant May,

With the Freeholders Protestation inclosed in the Letter from the said Committee to Master Speaker, and ordered by the said House to be forthwith published in Print.

H. Elsing. Cler. Perl. de Com.

LONDON,
Printed by *A. Norton* for *Iohn Franke*, and are to be sold next to the Kings head in Fleet-street. 1642.

A LETTER

FROM

THE RIGHT

HONOVRABLE

Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, Sir

Hugh Chebsley, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir Henry Chebsley Committees of the Commons house of Parliament residing at Tyrie.

TOGETHER,

With a Relation of all the passages at the great meeting at Yorke, on Thursday the 12. of this instant May,

With the Freeholders Protestation inclosed in the Letter from the said Committee to Master Speaker, and ordered by the said House to be forthwith published in Print.

H. Elsing Clerk Parliament.

LONDON,

Printed by *A. Norton* for *John Franke*, and are to be sold next to the Kings head in Fleet Street. 1644.

SIR,

IN our laſt Letter we gave you an Accompt of our firſt and ſecond waiting on the King, we writ to you then, that his Majeſty commanded us to attend him yeſterday being Thurſday, to heare what hee ſaid to the Gentlemen, Which a little before the meeting, he ſeconded by a particular Meſſage. Being come thither, his Majeſtie cauſed the ſeverall Meſſages betweene him, and the Parliament, mentioned in this encloſed printed Paper to be read.

This was done with much humming, and applauſe of the Kings Meſſages by ſome perſons who had placed themſelves neere about where the King ſtood. But when any thing from the Parliament came to be read, with ſo much hiſſing, and reviling the Parliament, that though in reſpect, and duty to the Kings Perſon, we could not reſent it, as otherwiſe wee ſhould have done, yet have ſince expoſtulated, and complained of it to his Majeſtie. Some were ſo bold as to ſay openly, That the Parliament men ſhould ſet their Houſes in order, for many of them ſhould ſhortly have their heads off; One of which (as ſince wee are credibly informed) was one *Hurſt*, a ſervant to one Maſter *William Crofts*. In this which was ſaid by the King, you will ſee what reaſon we had to vindicate our ſelves, and therefore we immediatly repayred to the Deanes houſe with all the other Gentlemen, and there wee tooke notice of the rough uſage we had received; Wee told them that it was neither indiſcretion nor diſobedience in us (as his Majeſty was pleaſed to call it) to deliver the Parliaments Meſſage, or to ſtay here though commanded to the contrary, ſince wee conceived no man needed to be ſatisfied in ſo cleare a caſe as

this; That every Member of each House ought to obey their Commands, when they were pleased to employ them. But since his Majesty thought fit to bid them, take heed of us, not knowing what doctrine of disobedience wee might preach to them under colour of obeying the Parliament, wee appealed to every man, whether we had in word or deed, in publick or in privat, done any thing that became not honest men, and persons employed from the Parliament. The wee had communicated our Instructions to his Majesty, being that wee would avow all our Actions, and that we were confident it would not be said, wee had transgressed them. This was very well taken and justified by the Countrey. Yesterday there came divers thousands of Freeholders to this Citie, though none but the Gentry were summoned, but receiving a Command from the King not to come to Court they forbore, and stayed in the Castl: yard, yet sent this Petition enclosed to his Majesty, and received the Answer annexed thereunto. There was likewise a Committee of twelve Gentlemen appointed yesternight to consider of drawing up an Answer to the Kings proposition concerning a Guard. but nothing could be then done, because it was past three a cloeke before the Gentlemen were admitted to the King. This morning the Freeholders assembled againe in the Castle yard, and there they made this Protestation enclosed, of their right of voting in what concerneth the peace of the Countrey, as having their interest therein.

When we all met this morning againe at the Deanes House, we who are your Committees received this Message by Sir *Edward Stanhop*, That he came from his Majesty to command us, that we should depart from this meeting, and if wee did stay, his Majesty would judge us guilty of that he spake on yesterday, which was Tampering. Notwithstanding which Command, wee read the fourth Article of our Instructions to the whole Company, that being pertinent to the businesse wee were then upon, and desired them to consider, whether the Parliament had not expressed therein such a care of the Kings safety, that there would bee little need of Guards: Wee told them that wee had a good right of being there as Freeholders of the County, but that in obedience to the King wee would depart for this time: But whensoever there-

there ſhould be occaſion of our being there in purſuance of our Inſtructions and Commands from the Parliament, wee ſhould bee ready. The whole company received great ſatisfaction, and deſired a Copy of that inſtruction which wee gave them. Wee were the more willing at that time to goe from thence, becauſe wee ſhould not onely give obedience to the Kings command, which otherwiſe hee would have ſaid, wee conſtantly diſobeyed, but becauſe the Committee of Twelve appointed yeſternight were then to withdraw, ſo that there was nothing for the preſent for us to doe; Wee immediatly went to the King, and beſought him that ſince wee were continually ſo diſcountenanced by him, in the face of our County, that hee would bee pleaſed to let us know in particular wherein wee had given the occaſion, for wee otherwiſe conceived wee were deprived of that Liberty, which was our due in reſpect of that Intereſt wee had here. His Majeſty was pleaſed to tell us, that if wee would lay aſide that condition of Committees from the Parliament, hee would not hinder us to bee there as Gentlemen of the Countrey; Wee humbly replyed, that wee could not lay that downe, nor could wee be abſent from any meeting where our preſence was required, for the ſervice as Committees from the Parliament: to which his Majeſty ſaid, That indeed hee thought wee could not lay it downe, neither that it was reaſonable wee ſhould have Votes, and bee in a double Capacity. The Committee hath beene together moſt part of this day, but not agreeing: Sixe of them have drawne up this Anſwer encloſed, which they have communicated to the Gentlemen, and Freeholders. The greater part of the Gentlemen, and all the Freeholders have agreed too, and ſubſcribed it. The other ſixe have concluded upon this other Anſwer, conſenting to a Guard of Horſe, but this wee doe not heare, that they have gotten many names too, nor can wee get a Copie of thoſe names as yet, though theſe be very few, yet whether they can bring in any Horſe or no wee cannot yet judge. The King hath received both theſe reſolutions, which with his Anſwers to them you ſhall likewiſe have here incloſed. His Majeſty had

declared himselfe yesterday, that hee would raise that Regiment, which was Sir *Robert Stricklands* for his foot Guard, but he hath now laid aside that Resolution. The Freeholders of the County are now newly summoned to attend his Majesty about a week hence the three Rydings upon three severall dayes, but for what service we doe not know.

Sir, you have here a large Narrative of the passages at this meeting; what dangers this poore Countrey lyes under, wee humbly referre it to you to judge, not taking upon us to deliver any opinion. The businesse lasted so long, that it hindered us from giving a more speedy accompt. Sir, This is what at this time is sent from,

Your affured friends
and servants.

Yorke 13. *May* 1642.

Fer. Fairfax.
Hu. Cholmley.
Philip Stapleton.
He. Cholmley.

His Majesties Speech.

I Have cause of adding, not altering, what I meant to say. When I gave out the Summons for this dayes Appearance, I little thought of these Gentlemen, or of such a Message as they brought, the which (because it concerned me in what I intend to speake, and that I desire you should be truly informed of all passages between me and the Parliament) you shall here read, First, My Answer to the Declaration of both Houses concerning Hull; The Answer of the Parliament to my two Messages concerning Hull; together with my Reply to the same; And my Message to both Houses, declaring the Reasons why I refused to passe the Bill concerning the Militia.

All which being read his Majesty proceeded.

I Will make no paraphrases upon what ye have heard, it more befitting a Lawyer then a King; only this Observation, Since Treason is countenanced so neer me, it is time to looke to my safety: I avow it was part of my wonder, That men (whom I thought hertofore, Discreet and Moderate) should have undertaken this Employment; and that since they came I having delivered them the Answer you have heard, and commanded them to returne Personally with it to the Parliament) should have flatly disobeyed me, upon pretence of the Parliaments Command. My end in telling you this, is to warn you of them; For since these men have brought me such a Message and disobeyed so lawfull a Command, I will not say what their intent of staying here is; only I bid you take heed, not knowing what Doctrine of Disobedience they may preach to you, under colour of obeying the Parliament.

Hitherto I have found and kept you quiet, the enioying of which was a chiefe cause of my coming hither (Tumults and Disorders having made me leave the South) and not to make this the Seate of a War, as Malice would (but I hope in vaine)

make

make you beleeve; Now if Disturbances doe come, I know whom I have reason to suspect.

To be short, you see that My Magazine is going to be taken away from Me (being My owne proper goods) directly against my will: The Militia (against Law and my consent) is going he to put in execution: And lastly, Sir John Hothams Treason is countenanced: All this considered, none can blame me to apprehend Dangers. Therefore I have thought fit (upon these reall grounds) to tell you, That I am resolved to have a Guard (the Parliament having had one all this while upon imaginary Jealousies) only to secure my Person; In which I desire your concurrence and assistance, and that I may be able to protect you, the Lawes, and the true Protestant Profession from any Affront or Injury that may be offered, which I mean to maintaine My Selfe, without charge to the Country, intending no longer to keep them on foot, then I shall be secured of My iust Apprehensions, by having satisfaction in the particulars before mentioned.

THE ANSWER TO HIS Maiesties Propositions, of the Gentlemen and Freeholders which subscribed the same at the Deanes House, where the Sheriffe was.

May it please your most Sacred Majestie.

THe Propositions delivered to us yesterday from your Majestie are of so high concernement to the weale and peace of the whole Kingdome, and doth so nearely touch upon the affection and fidelitie of all your subjects in generall, as we being but a part of one Countie onelie, dee not conceive it safe for us to advise therein, but rather humblie to beseech your Maiestie to impart the grounds of your Maiesties feares and jelocies to your High Court of Parliament, of whose most loyall care and affection to your Mtiesties honour and safety, and the prosperity of your Subiects and dominions we are most confident) and what soever shall be advised by your great Counsell therein we shall most willingly embrace and give our concurrence and assistance to it as shall become us, In whose fidelity and affection your Maiestie hath often declared especiall trust; And albeit wee doe not presume to advise your Majestie in that particular being of transcendent consequence, nevertheless in the behalfe of those members of Parliament lately imployed to attend your Maiestie from both Houses, being all of them Gentlemen of qualitie and estate in this Countie & trusted to serve in that most Honorable assemblie; Wee humblie crave your Maiesties leave to expresse our Confidence in their unstained Loyaltie and affection

to your Majestie to be such as your Majestie may safely admitt their attendance to negotiate their imployments untill they be recalled by the Parliament. And for their fidelity, wee doe all engage our selves to your Majestie, and we are most assured that your Royall person shall be secure in the generall fidelitie of your Subjects of this County without any extraordinarie guard.

His Maiesties Answer to this returned by the Sheriffe.

HIs Majesties expects the like affection from you that hee doth from the other Gentlemen, and that he hath the same confidence in you, that he hath in the others.

The names of those Gentlemen which were taken by the Sheriffe.

Sir Thomas Fairefax
Sir William Constable
Sir Mathew Boynton
Sir Thomas Gower
Sir William St. Quintin
Sir Edward Rodes
Sir William Fayrfax
Sir Thomas Norcliffe
Sir Arthur Ingram
Sir Richard Darley
Sir Lewis Cutler
Sir William Fairefax
Sir Hugh Bethell
Sir John Savill
Sir William Lyster
Sir Thomas Remyngton
Master Thomas Copon
Henry St Quintin
Archer Nevill
Tobias Ienkins
Henry Ienkins
John Ferrer
John West
Henry Atkinson
Henry Wyther
William Bethell
George Mountaine
Thomas Stockdale
William Gower
Richard Trewman

Sackvill

Sackvill Pope
Thomas Hablethwaite
George Eure
George Marwood
Iohn Savile of Midlee
Iohn Saltmarshe
VVilliam Copley
Loynell Copley
Edward Gower
Cuthbert Creake
VVilliam Cobb
Doyley Gower
Thomas Rookebie
Iohn Calverley
Francis Grimston
Iohn Anlabie
Arthur Beckwith
Christopher Waters
Mathew Beckwith
Christopher Copley
Thomas Croft
VVilliam Parker
Georg Trotter
Henry Westbie
VVilliam Iemimgs
Thomas Bradford
Richard VVilbore
Iob Hackwod
Mathew Allured
Robert Sheppard
Iohn Acklam
Iohn Stillington
Iervas Hamond
Iohn Cholmeley
Thomas Newarke
Henry Savile
Lancelott Allured
Iohn Lambert
Francis Grimston
Mr. Stephen Quintin
VVillobie Godfrey
Iohn Stillington
Iohn Beverley
Mr. Bointon
Georg VVestbie
Beniamin Browne
Charles Fairfax
Henry Arthington
Henry Tempest

These are the names Subscribed in one sheete there being many other sheets filed together, all of them Subscribed, and amongst them many Gentlmen of note, but I tooke note onely of the first sheete haveing no more time.

Two

To the Kiugs moſt Excellent Maieſtie.

WE Knights and Gentlemen whoſe names are ſubſcribed doe unanimouſly preſent this our anſwer to your Majeſties propoſitions concerning the raiſing of a Guard of *Horſe* for the ſecurity and defence of your ſacred perſon.

To which propoſition we, as we conceive our ſelves bound by Allegiance, doe willingly concurre. For that purpoſe humbly deſiring that the aforeſaid may be raiſed by legall Authority: And likewiſe that it may conſiſt of perſons unqueſtionable in their Religion, and Gentlemen.

The ſubſtance of his Maieſties Anſwer.

HIs Majeſtie gave them thankes, for it appeared as a ſatisfactorie anſwer, and in it they had ſhewed great circumſpection and wiſedome, by chuſing ſuch whoſe Loyalties could not be queſtioned, by excluding Recusants and all ſuſpected to be diſaffected.

To

To the Kings Most Excellent Maiesty

The Humble Petition of many thousands of Your Maiesties peaceably affected subiects of the Counte of Yorke.

Humbly Sheweth.

THat many of your Peticioners being in their late desires of petitioning your Maiesty denyed accesse, kept back with violence, and receiveing great affronts from some that have dependency on your Maiesty and others there assembled, yet noe provocation could remove them from their patience, and dutie, which proceedings are taken more to heart, your Petitioners conceiveing it undeniable that they have an Interest in the Common-wealth, and are as dutifull, and loyall Subiects to your Maiesty as whomsoever though diverse of them have beene since uncivilly prest by some in your Maiesties name to subscribe a paper stiled the humble Answer to your Maiesties propositions, and threatened thereto upon which blowes followed and that when your Maiesties Army should be on foot those should be stiled Malignants that refused such subscription, which we humbly conceive are positively contrary to your Maiesties owne expressions, and is to the high dishonour of your Maiesty, and the great affrightment, and disturbance of your Maiesties leige people. Therefore your Petitioners haveing too iust cause to feare your Maiesties royall heart is still endangered to be possessed with some distaste of your Petitioners humbly supplicate your Maiesty, to conceive better things of them and to cast your eye upon the present state of this your Kingdome, that as your Maiesty hath often declared your affection to this County, so now your love might now be expressed in preserveing

serveing the peace thereof, and that your Maiesty would admitt of a right Information of the cleare intentions of your Petitioners who are confident, that we so absolute, and harty observance to your Maiesties just Commands can be demonstrated as what your Maiesty in Parliament shall declare, which if it become devided (as God forbidd) our hearts even tremble to consider the dangers and diminution of the honour, and safety of your Maiesties posterity, and Kingdoms will unavoydably be put upon; since it is cleare to every understanding, that it is not a devided part of one, or several Counties that can afford that honour, and safety to your Maiesty as the whole Kingdom which you may command, no ground, or feare of danger remaining, if a good Confidence were begott betwixt your Maiesty and Parliament, whose grave, and loyall Counsells are as we humbly conceive, the visible way under God to put a speedy end to the troubles of Ireland, and establish your Throne in Righteousnes. And lastly your Petitioners do most humbly supplicate that we may represent our unfitnes to become Iudges betwixt your Maiesty and Parliament in any thing, or dispute the Authority of either which they humbly conceive doe forbeare each other it being most unfit for them to act any thing therin but by their prayers for a right understanding betweene your Maiesty and them which we shall heartily do as also for your Maiesties long and prosperous Reigne, and as we are bound by our late Protestation shall be ready to maintaine your Maiesties full rights, the Previlidges and power of Parliament and the lawfull liberties of the Subiects.

The

The Kings Answer to the Petition of the Country at the Committee at Yorke. May 13. 1642.

His Majestie

HAuing with some care considered this Petition, being the first of this nature that hath beene presented to him wherein any appearing well affected to his service (though he hath heard of many in the Contrary) have shewed meaned themselves, hath commanded me to give you this answer.

That he doth totally discover proceedings complained of in the Petition, and expects that your and all others his Loyall Subiects shall rest satisfied with his Iust and Gratious Declarations and constant peaceable practice towards his people to the contrarie, and for further assurance upon iust proofe made against any man who hath committed any violence in words or actions (without iust provocation) full reparation shall bee given to the parties injured. As for the rest of this petition, his Majestie saith that it is so confused that hee doth not well know what positive Answer to give it. And the rather because it is grounded upon misinformation, both of his Majesties proceedings and intentions, as in perticuler his Majestie saith hee never intended to have you to bee iudges betwixt him and his Parliament. And for the other part of this Petition hee refers to his Messages, Declarations, and Answers, whereby it will clearely appeare that his desire and intention is onely the preseruing of the true protestant profession, the lawes of the land, the liberty of his people, the peace of the Kingdome: And the peace of this County in perticuler.

FINIS

The

The Protestation of Freeholders May 13. 1642.

WHereas his Maiestie hath beene pleased to give Summons to the Gentrie of this County to Attend him at his Court at *York* the Twelft of *May* instant, to advise with him in some perticulars, concerning the honour, and safetie of his *Maiesties* Person, and the well being and peace of this our Countie, and in the said summons was pleased to omitt the Freeholders of this Countie, out of atender respect of putting them to any extraordinarie charge, yet we conscious of our sincere loyaltie o his Maiestie our Gratious Soveraigne, and conceiueing our selves according to the proportions of our estates, equally intrested in the common good of the Countie, did take bouldnes to come in person to *York*, and were readie to attend his Maiesties pleasure there. And whereas his Maiestie was pleased then to propound severall things to the purpose aforesaid, at the meeting of the Countrie, to consider a fit answer to returne to his Maiestie thereupon, the doores of the meeting house were shut against us, we utterly excluded, and in our absence a Referre of Knights and gentlemen chosen without our knowledge or consent to draw up the said answer: We the free-holders who petitioned his Maiestie the day abovesaid, concerneing our selves aboundantly iniured in the election (not knowing any warrant by writ or otherwise for the same) of the said Referree, and that we ought not however to be concluded by any resolution of theirs without onr assent in their election; doe absolutely protest and declare against the said Election: and as fart as consernes us disavowe whatsoever shall bee the result of their consultation thereupon, and doe desire, a new and faire election of a Referree may be made, we admitted to our free Votes in the same, and some one or more to be nominated by us, allowed to deliver our sence for us at another meeting: And that we shall not make good in the lest respect any thing whatsoever which shall otherwise be concluded upon.

FINIS

E.148
5

A Short HISTORY OF THE ANABAPTISTS OF HIGH AND LOW GERMANY.

Tantum religio potuit ſuadere malorum.

LONDON,
Printed by *T. Badger*, for *Samuel Brown*.
M.DC.XLII.

A SHORT

HISTORY

OF THE

ANABAPTISTS

OF HIGH AND LOW

GERMANY.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

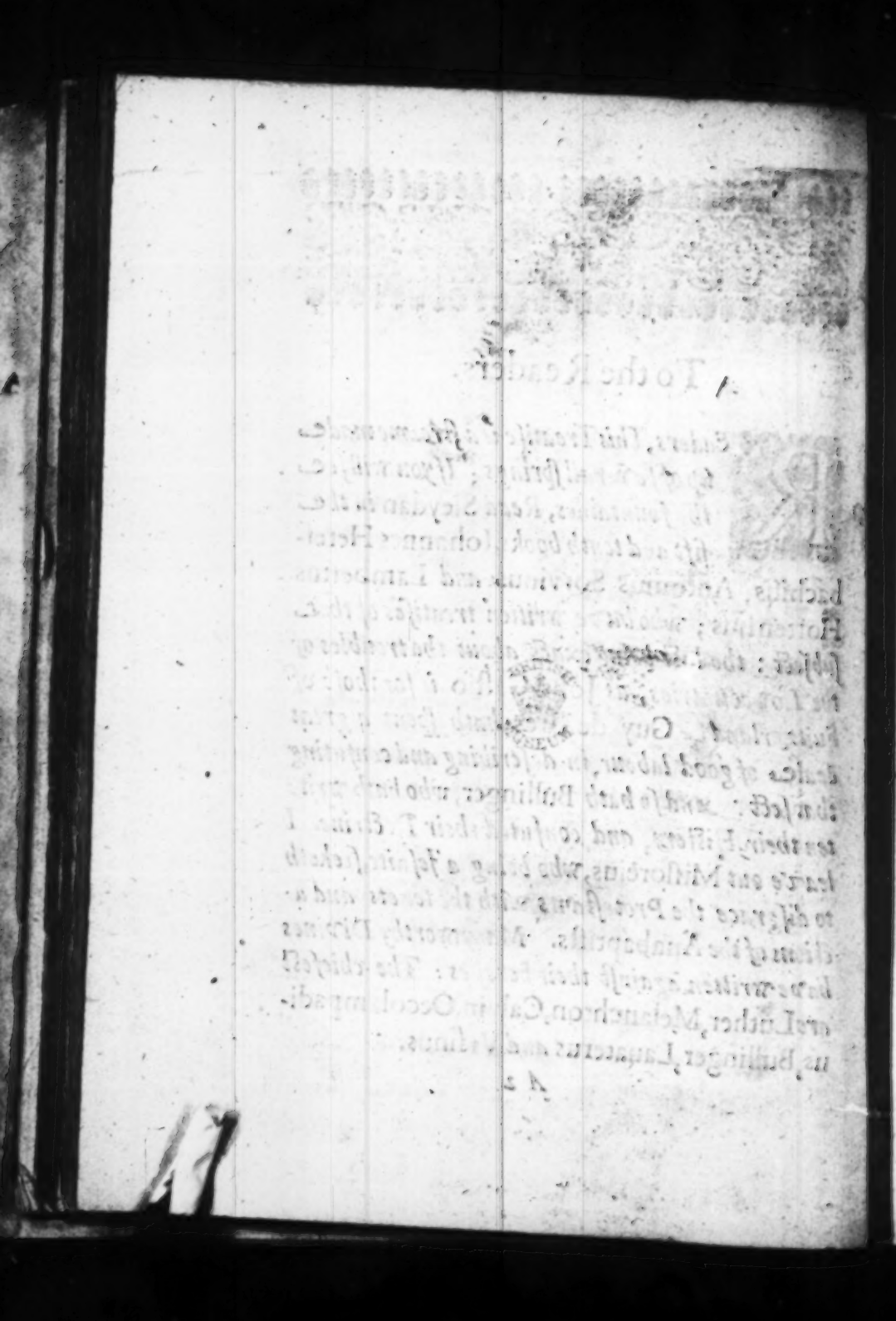
LONDON,

Printed by T. Badger, for Samuel Thom.

M.DC.XLII.

To the Readers.

READers, *This Treatiſe is a ſtreame made up of ſeverall ſprings; If you will ſee the fountaines, Read* Sleydan *in the fift and tenth books,* Iohannes Hereſbachius, Antonius Sorvinus *and* Lambertus Hortenſius; *who have written treatiſes of that ſubject: the laſt being exact about the troubles of the Lowcountries, as* John Gaſtio *is for thoſe of Suitzerland.* Guy de Bres *hath ſpent a great deale of good labour, in deſcribing and confuting that ſect: And ſo hath* Bullinger, *who hath written their Hiſtory, and confuted their Doctrine. I leave out* Miſſoreius, *who being a Jeſuite, ſeeketh to diſgrace the Proteſtants with the tenets and actions of the* Anabaptiſts. *Many worthy Divines have written againſt their hereſies: The chiefeſt are* Luther, Melanchton, Calvin, Oecolampadius, Bullinger, Lauaterus *and* Vrſinus.



A Short Hiſtory of the ANABAPTISTS.

Chap. I.

The diſpoſition of the people that embraced Anabaptiſme: The Reformed Religion cleared from any ſociety with it.

AS in a hot Summer day, many times there riſeth a great miſt with the Sunne-riſing, the like comes to paſſe at the riſing of the Sun of Righteouſneſſe. Since the dayes of the Apoſtles, that Sunne never ſhone with more brightneſſe and vigour than in *Luther's* beginnings; but it ſeemeth that this very ſtrenght of the Sun-ſhine of the truth which diſpelled the darke night of Popery, raiſed the foule miſt of *Anabaptiſme*; which ſiniſter effect muſt not be aſcribed to the nature of the Truth, but to the indiſpoſition of the ſeverall ſubjects not capable to receive it; for where the Goſpell meeteth with the ornament of a meet and quiet ſpirit (which yet is the worke of Grace, not Nature) it firſt enlightneth the underſtanding, and then ſweetly perſwadeth the will and warmeth the affections; but meeting with weake and turbulent natures, whoſe judgment is all paſſion, it fils

them with a wild zeale, and that pre. ious liquor turns into vinegar being powred into ſuch uncleane veſſels.

This was ſeene in the common people of *Germany*, *Lowcountries* and *Suitzerland*, whoſe ſoules were as courſe as their condition; for no ſooner had *Luther* and *Zuinglius* began to preach the true reformed *Goſpel*, but the people made to themſelves a new *Goſpel* of licenticuſnes and rebellion, which produced ſuch furious effects that it was like to have ſtrangled the true Goſpell in its cradle: And it ſeemed that God angry at the wilfull blindneſſe of the world that loved darkneſſe better than light, had prepared a worme to ſtrike that Gourd the next day after her ſudden happy riſing.

But God would not ſuffer the good to be overcome with evill, but overcame the evill with good; for *Anabaptiſme* laſted not in his ſtrenght above ten yeares, and ever ſince hath been only buzzing in obſcure corners, like a waſpe that hath loſt its ſting. Whereas the true Reformed Religion, notwithſtanding the many perſecutions of the world and all the craft of Satan, ſeemeth to get life by her wounds, and hath given to the *Romiſh* beaſt that deadly blow, of which (I truſt in God) ſhe ſhall bleed till ſhe dye, *haret lateri lethalis arundo*.

But becauſe the *Papiſts* ſhall not aſcribe (as they uſe to do) thoſe factions and rebellions to the Reformation, it will be requiſite to obſerve what were the diſpoſitions of the commons of High and Low *Germany*, a little before *Luther* began to oppoſe the Pope.

Trithemius Abbas Vſpergenſis, in his Chronicle of the yeare 1503, relateth, that in that yeare aroſe a great ſedition of Peaſants about *Bruxelles*, which he calleth *Liga Sotularia*; They were ſworne to theſe

Ar-

Articles, To shake off the yoke of all Higher Powers, and get liberty by force of Armes like the *Switzers*; To pull down all Magistrats, and kill all that should stand against them; To seize on the City of *Brussels*, and invade the Marquisat of *Baden*; To seize on all the revenues of Monasteries, Churches and Clergymen; To stay no where above 24 houres, but go forward still, till they had brought many Countreys to their society; To pay no more tythes, nor Lords rents, nor tributes: Whosoever was received into that League, was to say five times a day on his knees a *Pater* and an *Ave*, for the good successe of their enterprise; and their word of cognisance was the *Virgin Mary* and Saint *John* he Evangelist. But that League went but a little way, being timely stopt, and the Authors put to death by *Maximilian* their Prince. Compare these Articles with those of the *Anabaptists* 30 yeares after in the same Country, you shall find them the same, and both varnished over with Religion: All the difference was that the *Sotnlarians* kept in their old heresie, and the *Anabaptists* broached a new one: I hope the *Papists* will not impute that sedition to the Reformation, no more than the inraged rebellions of the *Gantois* against their Soveraignes, for both were rank *Papists*: The true cause then must be ascribed to the mutinous humour of that Nation, which afterwards was made worse by the cruell domination of the *Spaniard*, so that when Reformation came, and shooke off the yoke of *Popery*, the discontented commons tooke occasion (by wresting and corrupting the holy Doctrine) to shake off the yoke of their lawfull masters, and turned the spirituall liberty of the Gospell, into carnall licentiousnesse.

The like reason must be given for the *Anabaptisticall* com-

commotions in High *Germany*, for in *Luther's* time and before the lower ſort of people were extreamely oppreſt by the Princes, Noblemen, and Gentlemen of the Empire, which made *Luther* to write about it to all the Princes, *Anno* 1525, to dehort them from their infinite exactions, and exhort them for Gods ſake and for their own peace and ſafety, to uſe their ſubjects & tenants like men, not like beaſts made for the yoke and the ſlaughter; If *Anabaptiſme*, being a doctrin of licentiouſneſſe and libertinage, was readily embraced by a multitude that groned under a miſerable bondage, none needs to wonder.

As for the *Switzers*, their popular State, together with the contagion of the neighbouring *Germany*, made way for that popular doctrin: 200 yeares before they had killed or ejected all their Nobility, by whom they were heavily oppreſt: And now the lower ſort of people being bred in an antient hatred againſt Superiours, embraced that doctrine greedily, which armed the commons againſt their Magiſtrates.

It was in the yeare 1315.

But it muſt be acknowledged to the praiſe of that State that the Eccleſiaſticall and Politicall body oppoſed *Anabaptiſme* with great vertue and vigor, and ſo juſtified to the world that they were as great enemies to confuſion as their forefathers had been to oppreſſiõ.

To cleare the Reformed Religion from that wicked imputation, that it gave countenance to theſe rebellions and new doctrines, the *Anabaptiſts* will ſerve, for they hated *Luther* worſe than the *Pope*, and troubled the Euangeliques more than the Papiſts: And when they would inſinuate themſelves into the reformed States, with a ſmeeming familiarity, they had but rough entertainment among them, *Familiaris accipere haud familiariter*. What conferences paſt between them and what

what paines the Reformed tooke to confute them, the lasting Monuments will shew, which are extant in the writings of *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Melancthon*, *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Lavaterus*, *Bullinger*, *Vrsinus* and *Gastio*.

CHAP. II.

The first occasions and seeds of Anabaptisme, *The insurrection of* Muncer, *and* Phifer.

IN the yeare 1521 *Luther* being proscribed by *Charles* the 5, Emperour, was secretly conveyed away out of *Wittemberg*, by *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*. In his absence *Andreas Carolostadius* one of the Ministers of *Wittemberg*, began to preach some new doctrines of his own, and being a passionate man, stirred the people to pull down Images out of Churches in a tumultuous manner. *Luther* for that chiefe reason being called to *Wittemberg* again by his friends, condemned the proceedings of *Carolostadius*, saying, That although himselfe hated Images and wish them abolished, yet it ought to have been done orderly, removing them first out of the minds of the people, and teaching them that by Faith only we please God, and that Images are of no use in Religion: That the Consciences being thus informed and settled, Images would fall down of themselves: Also that when Images should be removed, he would have it done by the Magistrate, not by a popular sedition, holding it a matter of dangerous consequence to set the people on worke about any publique action, which should be done by the hand of authority.

About the same time a new Sect was springing in *Saxony*, of some fanaticall people, boasting that they talked with God, and God with them, who commanded them to kill all

the wicked and make a new World, wherein the innocent and godly ſhould live and raigne alone; of which opinion *Carloſtadius* was either the authour or the abettour: And when he could not get that doctrine received at *Wittemberg*, where *Luther* was too ſtrong for him, he left *Wittemberg* and reſorted to theſe new brethren.

It is hard to ſay whether *Carloſtadius* or one *Nicholas Stock*, was the firſt founder of *Anabaptiſme*. *Melanchton* ſaith that *Nicolas Stock* was he that began, He would ſay, that God ſpake to him by an Angell, and revealed him his will in dreames, promiſing him the place of the Angell *Gabriel*, and the Empire of the World: He taught that the Saints muſt raigne in the World, and that he muſt be their leader, to kill all the Kings and Princes of the World, and repurge the Church: He tooke upon him to have the gift of diſcerning the Spirits, and know the Elect; he made holineſſe to conſiſt in ſpeaking little, and living homely and ſordidly.

In that mans ſchoole was *Thomas Muncer* bred, who amplified much his Maſters doctrine. He began to preach at *Alſet* a City in the borders of *Thuringia*, belonging to the Elector of *Saxony*, teaching that the burden of the Pope was too heavy, and that of *Luther* too light; that his conſorts muſt have a new Baptiſme; That Chriſtians muſt be of an auſtere countenance, ſpeake little and weare long beards; This he cals the croſſe and the mortification of the fleſh: Alſo that they ought to retire into deſarts or private places, there to think of God & aske him ſignes, whether he think of them, & whether they be in the right Religion: He aſcribed much unto dreames, ſaying that God declareth his will that way, and prayſed openly in his Sermons ſuch as had dreamed a dreame that bore ſome explication.

Anno 1525. In that City of *Alſtet* he began firſt to make a confederacy adminiſtring an Oath and taking the names of all them that promiſed to aſſiſt him in his deſigne, of killing all the ungodly

ly Princes and Magistrates, and erecting new ones in their places. So long as he was content to preach of dreames and the like matters of lesse consequence, *Friderick* Elector of *Saxony* bore with him; but when he began to preach sedition, he banished him out of his dominions: And he having lyen hid some months, came to *Nurenberg*, and being driven thence also, came to *Mulhus*, a towne of *Thuringia*, where many of his old Disciples when he was at *Alster*, resorted to him again.

Luther hearing of this, writes to the Magistrates and Senat of the Town, that they should not harbour *Muncer*, as they loved their own safety, describing withall the mans doctrin and conditions, and exhorting them to aske *Muncer* who had given him authority to preach, and if he could not shew no ordinary calling, that then they should eject him. The Senate of *Mulhus* needed not many persuasions, for they liked not that new ghest: But *Muncer* was too quick for them, for he so wrought upon the people in a short time, that they put down the Magistrats and set others in their place of their own faction. Not long after they drave the Fryars away, and seized on their houses, of which the best was given to *Muncer*, who bore himselfe no more as a meere Preacher, but as a Senator; for he judged of all things out of the Bible and Divine revelations, and whatsoever he determined was received as an Oracle; especially when hee preached that all good must be common, and all men free and of equall dignity: An acceptable doctrin in those parts where the Nobility and Gentry used their Tenants and Vassals like slaves, and oppresst them with multitude of impositions & services; No wonder if that new Gospel wonne the meanest sort, who presently leftworking, and what they wanted they tooke by open force from them that had it.

At the same time in *Suevia*, and *Francomia* 400 00 boores and tradesmen rose up in armes, killed and ransacked great

part of the Nobles, tooke, pillaged and burnt many Forts and Castles, overthrowing all in their way like a sudden inundation; for when the banks of authority are once beaten down, nothing can stop the popular fury, till they loose themselves in their own confusion.

Muncer then thought it was time for him to do the like, he layeth up abundāce of amunition, maketh his Magazin in the Convent of *Franciscans*, casteth artillery, raiseth a numerous multitude of men, the meane People leaving their loome and their plough, to turn venturers in this holy war.

His chiefe associate was *Phifer*, one that gave much credence to dreames and night visions, and among other visions, would say, that he had seen in his dreame a great company of Rats in a stable, and had driven them all away; Which he interpreted as a command from God to take armes and dispossesse all the Nobility & Gentry: This *Phifer* was the stouter of the two, for although *Muncer* was vehement in his Sermons to the people, yet he would not try the hazard of a battell, till all the neighbouring Countryes were joyned with him; To which end he sent diverse letters to the diggers of mynes, of which the County of *Mansfeld* is full, exhorting them seriously to fall upon their Princes and cut them off, that so his party in *Franconia*, which looked but for his call, might have a free passage into *Thuringia*; But *Phifer* impatient of delayes, rusheth into the Countrey of *Isfeld*, pilladgeth Castles and Churches, destroyeth many of the Nobles, brings some of them bound, and returneth with a great booty; Which successe raised the minds of the boores, and caused another defection in the County of *Mansfeld*. So *Muncer* hoping that the rebellion was universall, taketh his journey from *Mulhus*, and is presently supplyed with a company of *Frankhusians*.

But before this snow ball could grow by rolling, the Count *Mansfeld* stopt its course, for having raised in haste some

some Companies of Horse, he fals upon *Muncer*, and killeth two hundred of his men, at which the rude unexperienced boores were so terrified that they all fled away to *Frankhus*, there to expect a greater supply, though they were men enough, but (as it seemes) Souldiers few or none. This only skirmish broke the edge of their fury, and gave time to *Iohn* Elector of *Saxony* (newly come to that dignity, by the death of his brother *Friderick*) and his unkle *George* of *Saxony*, *Philip* Lantgrave of *Hesse*, and *Henry* Duke of *Brunswick*, to raise fifteen hundred Horse and a few companyes of Infantery.

The boores were pitched upon a hill by *Frankhus* pretty well intrenched within their own cars, but very ill armed, and worse Disciplined. The Princes, though slenderly attended, contemned and pitied together that rude troope, and sent to offer them impunity and a generall pardon, if they would but yield the authors of the sedition and return home: But *Muncer* understood not that Gospel, that one man should dye for the nation. He fals to preaching, and expounds that sollicitation of the Princes, as an argument of their weakenesse and fearefulnesse; Tels the boores that he was sent from God to command and lead them in this action: That their part was to obey like *Abraham*, who being commanded to kill his son, went about it, though he was uncertain of the event; That they should certainly overthrow both these and all other enemies of God, it being Gods promise that the righteous shall wash his foot in the bloud of the wicked, and that the meeke shall inherit the earth; That these Princes were but Tyrants and theeves, sucking the blood of the people, to live at ease and maintaine their pride and wantonnesse; That they maintained the Masse, and therefore deserved to be extermined: Then he exhorted them to be valiant in the Lord, and kill every mothers sonne of their enemies, for an acceptable sacrifice unto God; assuring them that God himselfe that cannot lye, had promised him victo-

ry, and commanded him to destroy Princes and Magistrates, endowing him with such strength that he was able to turne all their bullets back with his coate; Hereupon perceiving a Rainebow in the Skie and turning his eyes towards his Colours, where a Raine-bow was painted; Looke up (said he) to Heaven, here is for you a joyfull signe of Gods favor, that Raine-bow the very embleme of our Colours, and bee sure that God promiseth us that he will be our Standardbearer and fight for us himselfe, Come then let's fight valiantly under Gods Standard.

That new piece of imposture made a strong impression in some. Yet the Princes drawing neere with a warlike march, made a stronger impression of feare in these rude Souldiers, than *Muncers* revelations & signes, for the Princes were incensed by a late cruel treachery of *Muncer*, who had put to death, against the Law of Armes and Nations, a hopefull young Gentleman sent to him to treate of agreement. The Princes began to play with their Ordinance, I cannot say to breake the Rankes of the boores, for they keepe neither Ranke nor File, and scarce keep their understanding, for they neither advanced nor fled, nor put themselves in defence, but fell a singing, *Come Holy Ghost*, expecting that God should fight for them from Heaven, according to *Muncer's* promise: But when their intrenchment of Carts was broken, and the Princes army came to handy blows, away fled all the boores, some one way, some another, but the most part to *Frankhus*, 5000 of them were slaine, *Frankhus* taken the same day, and 300 men taken and executed.

Muncer was found hid at *Frankhus* and lying on a bed faigning himselfe to be one of the Town that had been long sick of an ague, which his quaking for feare did imitate to the life; but Letters being found about him from *Albert* of *Mansfield*, to dissuade him from his seditious courses, he was known to be *Muncer*, which yet this lying Prophet denied long.

Being

Being brought before Duke *George* of *Saxony*, and the Lantgrave of *Hesse*, and demanded why he misled the simple people to sedition; He answered that hee had done no more than his duty, and that Magistrates that receive not the doctrine of the Gospell must be dealt with by such wayes. These reasons of his were confuted by the Rack, where when he cryed out, Duke *George* told him, Thou sufferest now *Muncer*, but thinke how many poore people have suffered by thee this day: At which *Muncer* laughed aloud, and said, *Why they would have it so*, meaning that the people loved to bee cozened and misled, and that nothing could winne their hearts but sedition.

Shortly after *Phifer* and other heads of the rebellion were executed at *Mulhus*, and *Muncer* a while after, who shewed a great deale of dejection and perturbation in his end, and could not so much as make confession of his Faith, with much a do could he speake after the Duke of *Brunswick* who taught him what he should say: Yet when he was ready to be executed, he acknowledged his errour openly, and made an exhortation to the Princes and Nobles, to use their subjects and vassals with more moderation; which if they did, the people would breake no more into such rebellions and outrages; he desired them diligently to reade the booke of Kings, there to learne their duty, and Gods judgements against unjustice and oppression. He was beheaded, and his head set on a high pole in the fields.

In the meane while *Luther*, because he was defamed by the Papists, as the author or occasion of those troubles, was sending godly exhortations over all *Germany*, to exhort the commons to peace and obedience to their Superiours, and rather to suffer for righteousnesse, then defend the Truth with unrighteousnesse, and that this was the Divels cunning to raise sedition by false brethren, to bring the Truth of God into hatred and obloquie.

And

And to the commons of *Suevia*, that had been up in armes before *Muncer*, and continued still in rebellion, Hee writ a grave admonition Representing that, although they were oppreſt by their Princes, who therefore deſerved to be puniſht, yet it belonged not to them to do the execution; That they muſt not beleeve the Sermons of every preacher, for Satan (ſaith he) under colour of the Goſpel hath in theſe times raiſed many ſeditious & bloudy teachers; You are oppreſt by your Superiours that take your eſtates from you, they do unjuſtly; but you do more unjuſtly to take that Iuriſdiction from them which is none of yours; And whereas they take but few things from you by exactions and too great burdens, you take all from them when you take away their authority: Is this obeying Chriſt who commands us not to reſiſt evill, but to him that ſtriketh us on the one cheek to turne the other, and let him that will take our Coate, to take our Cloak alſo? Nay, it is the duty of Chriſtians to ſuffer and undergo the Croſſe, not to reſiſt and ſeeke revenge and ſmite with the ſword; When *Peter* would fight to ſave his Maſter, a lawfull defence if ever was any, Hee bids him not to ſtrike with the ſword, becauſe that ſtriking was oppoſing the Magiſtrate for a private revenge, and to ſuch oppoſers of the Magiſtrate that Sentence belongeth, They that ſtrike with the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword: But I perceive the Divels plot, that ſince he could not deſtroy me by the Pope, he ſeekes to undo me by theſe violent bloudthirſty preachers: And do you take heed of them, for they caſt you headlong into a precipice, that they may riſe by your fall, and get honors and dignities with your perill.

That *Suevian* Rebellion was ſoon after ſuppreſt, partly by the vigorous oppoſition of the Princes, partly by their own wearines and diſorder, the limbes of that faction dropping off here and there, like a rotten carkeiſe that can no longer hang together.

Muncer

Muncer and his associates being punisht, *Carolostadius* was not farre from the like danger; for having left *Wittemberg* where he feared *Luther*, he kept conventicles in *Saxony*, associating himselfe with frantick men that boasted of Visions, and Colloquies with God, and a particular spirit; There also he writ a bitter book against *Luther*, and against his owne Prince, for which misdemeanours he was sought to be executed with *Muncer's* complices; In that extremity hee called upon *Luther's* helpe, whom he had so much provoked, and was saved by his intercession.

Chap. III.

The growth of Anabaptisme, The Tragicall disorders committed at Munster.

THe root and branch of fanaticall factions seemed then to be cut off, but the seeds remained, and brought forth many new twigs of the same kind: Presently after *Muncer*, one of greater learning and parts, began to preach the same doctrine at *Strasburg*, and was emprisoned for it by the Rulers of the City, his name was *Melchior Hopman*: And scarce two yeares after *Muncer*, *Germany* was full of *Anabaptists*; A new name then, but in effect the old sect of *Muncer*, with some additions: They denyed the Incarnation of Christ in the holy Virgins wombe, condemned the Baptisme of children, and re-baptized themselves, and all that embraced their sect: They would not allow Christians to recover their owne by Law, nor to take an Oath, nor beare the Office of Magistrate, and they pulled down Magistrates by way of fact where they had strength, and gave the power of the sword to their Ministers and Prophets, who decided all differences, and judged of all cases by Scripture, and undertooke Anno 1527.

to kill all the Princes of the World, and cut off all the ungodly with another ſword than that of the Spirit: They taught that in their Church all were holy, that none can bee ſaved that will not make his private goods common, that it is lawfull to have many wives, that all learning is prophane, and that meane ignorant men are the fitteſt to expound Scripture, that there muſt be no ordinary calling in the Church, but every one may ſpeake as hee is inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, that Chriſt muſt reigne over all the World, and therefore all other Kings and Princes, and their adherents muſt bee ſlaine, till there bee none left to reigne but Chriſt, and what they taught they went really about to practiſe.

Melchior Hopman being kept priſoner at *Straburg*, and his Sect ſeverely repreſt by the wiſe Magiſtrate; That crew diſperſed it ſelfe in *Weſtphalia*, *Friſe Holland*, and moſt part of the *Low Countries*, where they got a very great party, yet among the common ſort of people only: *Lambertus Hortenſius* one of my Authors affirmeth confidently that among that numerous rabble of ſeditious people, not one was found that ever was a Schollar, and very few that could reade or write. When they were confuted by reaſons or teſtimonies of Scripture, their anſwer was, that the Spirit taught them otherwiſe, and that the Spirit bloweth where hee liſteth, and doth not inſpire every one.

Theſe fancies were increaſed by one *George* of *Leyden*, with many groſſe and monſtrous Addikions: The ſect by his ſeduction in ſhort time grew ſo ſtrong, as to deſpiſe all Rule, all Iudges, and all Courts, and chuſe private Rulers among themſelves, who determined of all cauſes and ſate upon life and death.

But their rage could not keep long at home, They would ſometimes ruſh out of Cities in great troopes, and ranſack Convents and Rich mens houſes, taking for their warrant

the

the example of the Israelites, that tooke the spoyle of the Egyptians: Yet in these incursions they made Conscience at the first to enter into any Temple of those that were not re-baptized, but made no conscience to lye with their wives as left for a prey to the godly.

This was their preparation for the day of Iudgement, about which they had many revelations: One of their Prophets proclaimed that within three dayes the last Iudgement should come; This made many of them to leave their houses, and get up into high trees there to expect the comming of Christ, but having expected three dayes fasting, they returned faint and weake, and met with another Iudgement at home, for the Magistrate inquired after the Authors and promoters of that delusion, and punished them.

Of all Cities of the *Low Countries*, *Amsterdam* was most pestered with that sect, the great concourse and traffick giving them faire opportunity to resort to that famous place: Where being many times repress with fines and imprisonments and wholesome severity, they would disperse themselves over the Country, filling all with clamour, scattering papers in the high wayes, threatning ruine and destruction to all that would not adhere to them, and leave lands and houses to come out of *Babylon*, for *Babylon* they would overthrow, and within the circuit of *Babylon*, they included all Magistracy and Civill Government, and all wealth and greatnesse; A great quarrell they had with the *Babylonian Gold*.

But the whole World was little enough for their ambition, It was their serious intent to make themselves masters of the World, which they both professed and attempted, beginning their Empire at *Munster* in *Westphalia*.

It grieveth me to say that in *Munster*, truth made way for errour: For in the yeare 1532, one *Bernard Rotman* came to

S. *Maurice* Church hard by *Munster*, where he preached good doctrine and converted many, so that the people would have him admitted into the City; Which the Papists fearing, gave him a summe of money, upon condition hee should go to some other place, which hee did, and absented himselfe for some months, in which time he improved his gifts and learning, and returned againe better furnisht to encounter the adversary.

Being received at Saint *Maurice* with greater applause than before, some Citizens of the best sort brought him into the City, and because the Church doores were shut against him, they made him a Pulpit in the Church-yard, and shortly after told the Papists, that if they would not open the doore of some Church, they would open it themselves. *Rotman* seeing the progresse of the Reformation, sends to *Hasse* for some helpe, and they sent to him two Divines of *Marpurg*; With these by the counsell and authority of the best of the Town, he challenged Papists in dispute, and presented thirty Articles of Papisticall errours to the Senate, offering to prove that they were contrary to holy Scripture: The Senat sends for the Clergy of the City, and requireth them that since they had alwayes profest that their doctrine was grounded upon holy Writ, they would now make it good: The Clergy finding themselves unexpectedly put to it, answered plainely that it was more than they could do and that they were sure they had a good intention, though there might be ignorance and errour in their profession: Whereupon the Senate interdicted them to teach the people any more, and gave their places to the new teachers that had detected the impostures of the old.

The expulsed Clergy retire to their Bishop and Prince, (for the Bishop of *Munster* is Prince of the City) The then Bishop was Count *Francis Waldeck*, to whom *Fridrick* Archbishop of *Colen* had lately yeelded the place. The Bishop pre-

presently stops all the passages of victuals to the City, and taiseth some forces to compell the Citizens to restore all things in the former State; But the Citizens by a night enterprize, tooke his best men, and the richest of the Popish party lying in a little Town, whence the Bishop was gone the day before: This gave occasion to a parley and a composition, by the mediation of the Lantgrave of *Hesse*, wherin it was agreed upon, that six Churches should bee given to the Reformed party, and that the Cathedrall should remain as it was before. This agreement was made Feb. 14. 1538.

Hitherto all was wel, if it could have stayd there; But before the swinge of the former commotion was well stayed, there comes to the Town, in an ill houre, a pestilent *Anabaptist*, a Taylor of *Leyden*, *Iohn Becold*, better knowne by the name of *Iohn of Leyden*: This man begins to conferre with Ministers and People, about the Baptisme of children; maintaining it to be unlawfull, seducing many and sowring the new Lump of that Church with the Leaven of his perverse doctrine: With him, or presently after him came a very great multitude of his fraternity, most of them *Hollanders*. These keeping conventicles in the night, got a great party in the City, and incensed one another with desperate resolutions: They had with them one *Herman Strapreda*, brought up under *Henry Rell*, who had beene lately executed at *Vtrecht*, for preaching *Anabaptisme*, and sedition; At the feet of that *Gamaliel*, one may thinke what doctrin he had learned: This man they got to bechosen colleague to *Rotman*, before his heresie was knowne, but he made it knowne presently, preaching openly against the Baptisme of children, and none more eager to oppose him than *Rotman*: The Magistrates and people, not yet infected with that new doctrine, seeling so much distraction arising among themselves, commanded the Forreigners and Sectaries to goe out of the City, but they went out at one gate, and came in againe at the other,

saying that they must not desert Gods cause, but doe the worke which God had given them to do: The Senat to prevent a sedition, appointed the *Evangeliques* and the *Anabaptistes* to meet in a publique Conference, and there *Rotman* betrayed the good cause, and disputed contrary to his preaching, condemning the Baptisme of children as impious and execrable; But hee was so well opposed by a worthy Divine *Hermannus Basilius*, that the Senate was satisfied, and concluded for the Truth, and the teachers *Anabaptists* were sentenced to be banisht; Who when they alleadged that they could not safely travell through the Bishops dominions, the Senate obtained a safeconduct for them, and gave them money for their journey: But they being resolved before never to goe away, lay lurking among their sectaries, which increased so fast, (the meane people of the Towne being seduced every day, and strangers flocking to the Towne continually in great troopes) that the Magistrates fearing least the *Anabaptistes* should drive the *Evangeliques* out of their Churches, kept all the Churches shut up but one.

In this distressed case of their Church and State, the Lantgrave of *Hesse* sent them, at the request of the Senate, two Divines, *Theodoricus Fabritius*, and *Iohannes Melsingerus*; But the last seeing the deplorable face of businesses in that place, and fearing his owne danger, returned home, *Fabritius* remained, and among so much contradiction discharged the part of a worthy champion of Iesus Christ, till the *Anabaptistes* having got the upper hand, thrusted him and all the *Evangeliques* out of the City. And to set a bound to the unlimitted extravagancy of the Anabaptisticall spirit, he composed a book of *Common Prayers*, with the forme of administring the Sacraments and performing other Ecclesiasticall duties, and it was published by the authority of the Senate.

There

There was also another worthy Divine, *Peter Wirtem*, who having beene silenced by the *Anabaptistes*, was now by the Senate and People allowed to Preach againe: But he was no Preacher for the new brethren, they turned him out of Office presently, at the instigation of *Rotman*, who soone after provoked *Fabritius* and his colleagues to dispute: *Fabritius* accepted the challenge, and the Senate appointed a Conference, naming some learned and good men to be the umpires; But *Rotman* and his brethren fearing the Touch, began to find exceptions and devise shifts to avoyd the dispute, whereby they lost much credit among the people.

To wipe off that staine, they tooke a more compendious course: One of them faining himselfe seized with a Prophetical spirit ran through the City, crying, Repent, and bee Bap ized againe, else the wrath of God will fall upon you: This stirred the people, and many ran also with him, crying the same words: Many of the simpler sort were re-baptized for feare of the wrath of God, and many more for feare of the wrath of men: For this crying and running through the streets, ended in ransacking the best houses, and laying violent hands on the owners: Then many that lay hid before, came forth, and rushed into the Market place, crying out, that all that were not re-baptized must bee killed presently, as Vngodly and Heathen; And seizing upon the Towne-House and the weapons therein, they began to domineere as in a conquered place.

The *Evangeliques* on the other side gathered themselves in a place called *Overwater*, and tooke many of their enemies, and both the sides were fortifying the places where they stood: Three dayes they stood thus without doing any great harme one to the other, til giving hostages on both sides, they fell to a composition; That every one should enjoy the freedome of his Religion, and all should go home and live in peace.

This

This tumult was towards the end of *December*, 1533.

Anno 1534. But this composition gave but time to the *Anabaptistes* to strengthen their party, for *Rotman* and *Bernard Knipperdoling*, the most stirring of that faction, sent letters to the townes of *Osthurg*, *Wesel*, *Corsweld* and *Warendorp*, of which the tenour was, that God had sent a holy Prophet to *Munster*, who spake wonders, and shewed the right way to Salvation: That if they would leave their houses and come to *Munster* in all haste, they should get ten times more than they left at home, and with the spirituall wealth get all worldly riches.

These faire promises drew all the skumme of the neighbouring Townes to *Munster*, the poorest and idlest sort liking that Religion well, that maketh all men alike and all goods common, and puts down those Lawes and Magistrates that refrained their licentiousnesse. In a short time the City was full of strangers and vagrants, that looked upon the City as a Land of Promise, where they must make a new Plantation, and expulse the *Canaanites*. At their comming the richest of the Town, being frighted, thought it their safest course, fairely and quietly to give them place, and without noise withdrew themselves out of the City.

The *Anabaptistes* seeing themselves strong, ran to Saint *Maurice* Church and burnt it with all the houses about it, pillaged all the Churches, defaced the Cathedrall, depopulated the Convents, and Colledges, and burnt a faire great Library belonging to the Fryers; And for the finall exploit drove all the *Evangeliqus* out of the City, but some few (whom they mistooke for *Anabaptistes*) crying, Get ye hence all yee wicked, else you shall all be slaine. And with such a violence they put them out, that some women great with child miscarried in the tumult.

In this banishment the grieved Citizens suffered double persecution, for being turned out bare by the *Anabaptistes*; they

they were taken by the Bishop, who the day before had encamped before the City, and by him used as enemies: some were in danger to have lost their heads, as the worthy Divine *Peter Wirtem*, who was saved by the mediation of the Lantgrave of *Hessen*. This forced the rest of the *Evangeliques* to stay in the City, though there was little choyce betweene staying in the frying pan, or leaping into the fire.

And now the *Anabaptistes* being Maisters of the City, began to order their new State, for though they were enemies to all Superiority and Order; Yet necessity and Nature it selfe forced them to elect some Superiours of their own: They made two Consuls, *Knipperdulling* and *Kippenbrok*, and twenty two Senators or Aldermen, that had the Civill power: The Prophets were to rule matters of Religion, under which name they governed Church and Common-wealth; for all civill matters were brought within the compasse of Religion and Conscience, and whatsoever a Prophet said to be revealed unto him, past for Law.

The most famous of these Prophets was *Iohn Matthias*, a Baker of *Harlem*, who was in effect a perpetuall Dictator in *Munster*, that made Lawes and changed them after his pleasure: By him was the foresaid order made; His chiefe adjunct was *Iohn* of *Leyden*, and the next *Bernard Knipperdulling*: By a revelation of *Iohn Mathias*, an order was made upon paine of death, that all the gold and silver and moveable goods of the Town should be brought to the common stock, for which they appointed a publique house: The order was obeyed, more for feare than conscience, for two maids Prophetesses tooke upon them to find out the fraud, and the severall houses were searched by a Deacon; To that common stock were brought all the goods of those that were driven out of the City.

With that common stock they kept foure great ordinaries in the foure quarters of the Towne, where all fed in common, none being allowed to dyet at home, unlesse he were

sick: Plenty of provision they had, and they husbanded it very ill, feasting every day till the Bish. p that besieged them, began to cut off their victuals, and then they stinted themselves, but with too large a stint, which was to have change of meat every third day, one day fresh meate, the other day hung meate, and bacon, and the third day milk, butter and cheese.

I read of no great feats of armes in this siege, Once onely the Bishop received a notable repulse by *Iohn Matthias*, who was a Generall as well as a Prophet; With easie labour hee had so fortified the Towne, which is most strong by Nature, that he had made it impregnable, so that the Bishop despairing to take it by force, went about to take it by famine. Indeed the negligence of the besiegers and the security of the besieged, are the onely things remarquable in this siege.

The Prophets then neglecting the Bishop converted their care to the spirituall government, and commanded that none should keepe any bookes but Scripture: So all the bookes that could be found, but Bibles, were brought to a publique place and a bonfire made of them.

From executing of bookes they fell to execution of persons; *Hubert Truteling* a black smith, seeing *Iohn Matthias* passe by, said, Here goeth a shitten Prophet; For this offence he was brought to the Congregation and condemned to death: *Iohn Matthias* would himselfe bee the executioner, and wounded him with a Halbard; the wound being not mortall, he brings him to another place and shootes him thorow with a pistoll, then taking compassion on him, hee pardons him, saying, that God was appeased towards him, and that he had a revelation that the man should not dye of this, yet the poore man dyed a few dayes after.

To make amends for his false Prophesie, He runs in a mad mood over all the City, bearing a Pike, crying, that God

the

the Father had commanded him to drive the enemy backe from the City, and so rushed alone into the enemies campe, without feare and wit, and was presently killed.

Iohn Matthias being dead, *Iohn* of *Leyden* comforteth the people, saying that hee knew long before by revelation that *Iohn Matthias* was to dye that death, and that himselfe should marry his wife, as hee did shortly after, though hee had one before, but this was one of singular beauty, able to make a lusty young Prophet to set up the doctrine of Polygamy.

But hee fell to other worke before he stirred that point, *Knipperdulling* came out with a revelation, that they that were in high places should be brought down to the lowest, & they that were in the lowest, raised to the highest: But *Iohn* of *Leyden* met him in his own kind with another revelation, that since it was Gods pleasure that those that were in the highest places should be brought down to the lowest, he was sent from God to put him down from the place of Consull, and make him the Hang-man, and to that purpose hee gave him from God the sword of Iustice.

But there was need of more revelations for that great worke of alteration of the Government; *Iohn* of *Leyden* was led by his Propheticall spirit upon the City wals, where hee put off his cloths and ranne naked through the City, crying, *The King of Sion is come, the King of Sion is come*; Then returning home, hee fals into a deep Propheticall sleep, and dreames three dayes and three nights together: Being awaked, hee comes forth and speaketh never a word, but calleth by signes for a table-booke, like *Zachariah*. There hee sets downe twelve men, all coblers, tinkers, smiths and meane tradesmen, but one that was a Gentleman of *Munster*; to these he assigneth the Government of the Common-wealth, putting down the order set up by *Iohn Matthias*, and affirming that this was the Fathers good will. In that paper also he writeth some conclusions, which he chargeth the Preachers to teach

the people, Or elſe he would have them ratified by the Congregation without the Preachers: The ſumme of all was that a man is not tyed to one wife, but that he may marry as many as hee pleaſeth. And when moſt of his Doctors would not approve of that monſtruous paradoxe, he citeth them before his twelve Magiſtrates, and there he recovered his tongue, keeping a great clamour, throwing downe his cloths upon the ground, and the new Teſtament upon them, and ſwearing by that holy book, that the doctrine which he had announced was revealed unto him from Heaven, and threatning them all, that if they conſented not to this doctrin, God would withdraw his mercy from them. To teſtifie his evidence of ſpirit and power, he commanded the firſt oppoſer of that new Goſpell to be beheaded, which was done preſently.

For three dayes together there was preaching concerning matrimony for the confirmation of that opinion; But the beſt confirmation was his practiſe, for preſently he married three wives, one of which was the relict of that grand Prophet *Iohn Matthias*, by whom ſhe was with child, and married again and again, till hee had fifteen wives: Many followed his example, and it began to be a matter of great praiſe to multiply wives.

This ſeemeth to have been his firſt motive to broach that doctrine; A Souldier of the Biſhop that had changed party, and was harboured where *Iohn* of *Leiden* lay, obſerved in the night that this holy Prophet left his bed and went to the maids bed: *Iohn of Leyden* ſeeing himſelfe diſcovered, in the morning called the Souldier aſide, and gave him gold, deſiring him to keep his counſell: But after miſtruſting the Souldiers tongue, he thought it ſafer to countenance the fact by a publique doctrine.

This doctrine then was readily embraced by thoſe whoſe age and temper was apteſt to conſult with fleſh and bloud;

None

None refraining himſelfe from multiplication of wives for want or covetouſneſſe, for their wives were kept upon the common ſtock. Neither did they keep any face of order or any ſhew of modeſty in thoſe marriages, for preſently after the receiving of that Law, the brethren ran to the hanſomeſt women of the City, ſtriving who ſhould be ſerved firſt, and lay with them without any forme of contract, ſo that within few dayes there was not one woman of 14 yeares of age but was violated.

But thoſe of the City that had yet ſome remnant of ſound mind, being extreamely grieved with this diſorder, and groaning under that foule tyranny, made a party and layd hold of *Iohn* of *Leyden* and *Knipperdulling* and all the Prophets; which comming to the eares of the frantike rabble of people, which made the greateſt number, they tooke armes and reſcued the Prophets and killed fifty of their adverſaries, moſt of them in cold bloud and with ſeverall kinds of deviſed cruelties, *Iohn* of *Leyden* encouraging the murtherers, and crying, that he that would do God ſervice, ſhould give the firſt blow.

Chap. IV.

Continuation of the Siege of Munſter, *The reigne of* Iohn *of* Leyden, *The taking of* Munſter, *The deſerved puniſhment of the Rebels.*

WHile they were thus wiving and ſtriving in *Munſter*, the Biſhop had faire play, if he could have husbanded the occaſion. Some weake attempts he made, with ill ſucceſſe, and having till then borne the charges of the warre alone, hee was afterwards aſſiſted with men and money by *Herman* Arch-biſhop of *Colen*, and *Iohn* Prince of *Cleves*, and

asked succour of all the Cities, of the *Rhyne*, about which demaund, there was a meeting appointed to be held at *Coblentz*, *Decemb.* 13. 1534.

This long delay gave time to *Iohn* of *Leyden* to project new designes, He declared that the Spirit of Prophecy was retired from him, and reposed upon *Iohn Tuscocurer* a Goldsmith of *Warendorp*; And this new Prophet having called the Congregation together, declared that it was the will of the Heavenly Father that *Iohn* of *Leyden* should be King of the Vniverse; And that with mighty Armyes hee should kill all Kings and Princes, and destroy all the ungodly, and save the people that love righteousnesse, and that hee must possesse the Kingdome of his Father *David*, till the time come that he must deliver the Kingdome to his Father; And that all the ungodly being killed, the godly should reigne in the World, Whereupon *Iohn* of *Leyden* fell on his knees, and lifting up his hands to Heaven, said, Men and brethren, so much I knew long ago, but I would not reveale it; Now God hath made choyce of another to beare witnesse to that truth; Then said *Tuscocurer* again, Thus saith the Lord, As I set *Saul* to be King in *Israel*, and after him *David* taken from the sheepfold, so I have set *Iohn Becold* my Prophet to bee King in *Sion*: And when the Senat refused that Prophecy, the Prophet refused the Senat, and appealed to the Congregation, saying, give care Israel, Thou shalt abrogate thy Magistrates and put down thy Preachers, and instead of them establish twelve simple men without any learning; them thou shalt command that they read my word unto my people, and without any helpe but my spirit expound it, into them will I powre the spirit of wisdome and understanding. Then giving a sword to *Iohn of Leyden*, And to thee (saith he) father *Becold*, the Father giveth this sword, and calleth thee not only to be King in *Sion*, but over all the World, and to extend thine Empire unto the ends of the earth.

This

This Oracle was followed with great shoutings and acclamations of the people, crying, *God save the King*, and presently he was brought to Saint *Lamberts* Church-yard, and there again proclaimed King.

There the new King created foure Counsellors of State, the chiefe whereof was one *Gerard*, a Book-binder, one *Tal. beck* he made Lord Steward of his houshold, *Girard Kippenbrok* Treasurer of his plate and jewels, *Knipperdulling* Governour of the City, and appointed twelve Archers of his Guard.

This Taylor King presently made use of his skill to make himselfe fine in cloths, He transformed the copes and carpets of the Churches and Convents, into doublets, and breeches, and cloakes, which set off his Majesty all in gold and silver; His horses wore a suitable livery, richly harnessed with golden and silver saddles and footcloths; he had great change of rich apparell, in which he appeared abroad, having his chiefe Officers and Counsellours riding before him in great State; Next to him rid two young men richely attired, the one carrying a naked sword with a golden hilt, set with precious stones, the other carryed a Bible and a triple Crown of gold of exquisite work, glittering with diamonds. Himselfe wore a great chaine of gold about his neck, like a Collar of some noble Order, with a golden Globe having a golden Sword thorough it, hanging at the chaine, with this *Motto* about the Globe, *Rex Iustitiæ hujus Mundi*, The King of Righteousnesse of this World. After him followed fifty pensioners clad with parti coloured garments of ash colour and grasse green, white caps, and golden rings in every finger, making the ash colour an embleme of mortification, the grasse green of regeneration, the white caps of innocency, the golden rings of charity: But among these Prophetical riddles, hee ordered his Court with so much State, and so disposed his Officers, that if he had been a King borne, hee could

could have done it no better; So much all his adverſaries acknowledge.

In that Royall array hee ſhewed himſelfe three times a week in publique, and went up to a high Throne ſet up with great magnificence: Vnder him ſate *Knipperdulling* Governour of the City, and lower his foure great Counſellours of State. In that Court he judged of all controverſies, moſt of which were about divorces, for by his new orders any man that was weary of his wife might take another, and as many more as he liſted, which could not but multiply ſuites, and give worke to the new King, and his Counſellours, and Prophets.

In that Court *Knipperdulling* would ever come out with ſome *Bedlam* rapture, Once he fell flat to the ground, and creeping upon his hands and feet, he went to ſeverall perſons of the Aſſembly, and blowing them in the mouth, ſaid, The Father hath ſanctified thee, receive the holy Ghoſt: Another time he fel a dancing, ſaying, So I danced once with my little harlot, and now the Heavenly Father hath commanded me that I ſhould dance ſo in the Kings preſence: Another time before the King came he ſate in his chaire of Majeſty, and there Prophecied that he ſhould dye and riſe again, and that then the eyes of the blind ſhould bee open; But the King comming, ſhewed him that the ſpirits of the Prophets muſt be ſubject unto the Prophets, for he pulled him downe and committed him to the layle for three dayes.

This Ioly Taylor having thus ſtitched up a Kingdom in haſt, turned his ſerious care to go thorow ſtitch with it: For that there was need of ſupply to remove the Biſhop that hindered his work; And becauſe all ſhould be done in a Prophetical way, *Tuiſcocurer*, his chief agent, came to him (as it ſeemes by his appointment) one day as he was ſitting in his Throne with more than ordinary Majeſty, and told him, King *Iohn*, the Goſpell muſt be renewed by thee; Thus ſaith the

the Lord God, go and say to the King of *Sion*, that he prepare my holy Supper in the Church-yard of the great Church, and that hee chuse Teachers of my word, to send into the foure Quarters of the world, to teach all men the wayes of righteousnesse, and bring them by the Spirit of their mouth, into my Sheepfold: so a publike Communion was celebrated, but they made it a full meale; A great feast it was, both for the persons, & the meat, for they were above foure thousand men, and had three courses: But between these courses there was a foule intercourse, for the King accused a man of Treason, and cut off his head with his own hand, and returned merry to supper; Then with his bloudy hand he tooke upon him to administer the body and bloud of Christ, assisted with the Queene (sometime *Iohn Matthias* his wife) who then did the office of a Minister or Deacon, and administred the Communion, the like did the principall officers of the state, saying, take this and announce the Lords death.

After supper the King asked the whole Congregation, whether they were all heartily disposed to do Gods Will, and to suffer and dye for the faith, to which the people answered with one voyce that they were all in that mind; then *Tuiscocurer* arose and sayd, thus saieth the Lord, chuse men among my people, to send into the foure quarters of the world, to do great wonders among the nations, & publish my wondrous things among the strange people; then he read a note of the names of those whom God had chosen for that legation, of whom himselfe was one. they were 26, (*Sleydan* saith two more) 7. were sent to *Osnburge*, sixe to *Cocfweld*, five to *Warendorp*, eight to *Suzat*; To them the King gave certain peices of Gold, with this inscription, on the one side, *Vulesse one be borne by water and by the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdome of Heaven.* On the other side, *The Word was made flesh, one God, one faith, one baptisme.* They were to present that coyne to every Town where their doctrine was not recei-

ved, and leave it there for a Testimony against them.

These new Apostles went into the Cities where they were sent, crying in the streets that the people should repent, and joyne with them, else they should shortly perish: With that noyse having raised a tumult, they were apprehended and brought to the Magistrates, before whom they spread a cloak upon the ground, and threw their Coyne upon it, saying that they were sent by the Father to offer them peace, which if they refused, they would leave that Coyne amongst them as a pledge of Gods wrath against their ungratefulnesse, and hardnesse of heart: That the time was come, foretold by the Prophets, that the whole world should follow righteousnesse which God would worke by their King, and when he had made righteousnesse to raigne over all the world, that then he should give up the Kingdome unto his father.

Being questioned by the Magistrates, first with faire words, and after by tortures about their faith, their conversation, and the state of the citty of *Munster*, they answered that none in the world but they, had the true Doctrine, which they were ready to seale with their bloud: that since the Apostles times the word of God had not been purely preached, and no justice was in the earth: That there was foure great Prophets, two good, *David* of *Delft*, and *John* of *Leyden*, and two bad, the *Pope*, and *Luther*, but *Luther* the worse of the two. Being asked by what Scripture they could justifie their unjust dispossessing of so many good men, from their houses and goods, and making bold with their wives; They answered that the time was come foretold by Christ, that the meeke shall inherit the earth; That in the same manner God had given the goods of the Egyptians to the *Israelites*, and among the goods they reckoned the wives; That they might lawfully take many wives, upon condition they should lye with them all till they were with child, and when one was with child, they might take a new one in her stead.

That

That they held women at twelve yeares of age, to be fit for husbands. That they put away barren women, or past child-bearing, and committed them to curatours, as being good for nothing.

As for the provision of the Towne, they said that S. *James* Church was all full of mault. That they had barly for two yeares, and many thousand quarters of meale, and great store of Bacon: A false Relation, for soone after they fell to eating of dogs and leather in *Munster*. They constantly affirmed that their King expected a great army out of *Holland* and *Frize*, which as soone as it was come, he would begin his expedition to subdue the world, and kill all Kings for their perverse administration of justice, and that they knew by revelation that their King of *Sion*, would shortly be King of the whole earth: They persisted in denying all Magistrates but their own King, for which they were put to death, as enemies of all lawes and order, and brands of sedition; and there was an end of that Apostleship, that should have preached a Gospell of rebellion over all the world.

This legation was in *October*, 1534, at which time, *Munster* began to be short of victuals: this occasioned a plot of some of the Town to take the King, and send him bound to the Bishop: The plot was discovered to the King, who thought it not safe to make the Authors known, only he committed the Town and himself to twelve trusty Captaines, to whom he divided a government in the aire of severall Provinces, sparing no Prince but the Lantgrave of *Hesse*, whom he hoped to draw to his party; And with his smooth tongue he pacified the people, assuring them that by Easter they should certainly be delivered from all their enemies.

The Princes of the Empire, seeing their danger, if this pretended King of the world came out and met with his confederates, met at *Coblentz* as they had appointed, and tooke a course for the Bishops helpe, and the streight besieging

ing of the Towne, and sent letters to the people of *Munster* to represent them their fault, and their danger, and that if they did not submit to their naturall Prince, they should draw all the forces of the Empire upon them: This was about the end of *December*, 1534.

They answered many words in commendation of their holy purpose, yet nothing to the purpose, and sent private letters besides to the Lantgrave of *Hesse*, to perswade him to joyn with them, for the killing of all the wicked, & establishing the Kingdome of the righteous in the World, and they sent him a booke of that argument, whose title was, *De restitutione*, the Lantgrave caused it to be answered by his Divines.

To draw towards the last Acts of that wild King, among the Prophets that were taken, one called *Henry Hilversum* An. 1535. was saved by the Bishop, who after some private conference with him, let him go; And he returning to *Munster*, said that God had delivered him out of prison by an Angell like *Peter*, and had sent him to announce to the King that he had given him three rich Cities, *Amsterdam*, *Deventer*, and *Wesel*, which should shortly embrace his party: The King gladly received *Hilversum*, and made him one of his Court, and presently dispatched one *James* of *Kemp* to *Amsterdam*, to bring that City to his obedience, which he was like to have done, having by his seditious doctrine stirred the most part of the people against the Magistrate, but that the Count of *Hochstrat*, Governour of *Holland*, opposed them with great wisdome and with a high hand.

Soone after *John* of *Leyden*, hearing a report that many of his sect in *Holland*, and *Frize*, were wandring in great troopes like sheep having no shepheard, sent them one *John Giles*, that had some skil in war, with a great summe of money, charging him that like another *Moses*, he would be their leader in the wildernesse, and bring them to *Canaan*, that is, to *Munster*.

But

But when much time past, and he heard nothing of those wandring *Israelites*, nor of their *Moses*, he sent the Prophet *Henry Hilversum*, and one *John Nortell* into *Holland* and *Frize*, to hasten them, or raise new troopes.

For that expedition he had loaden *Henry Hilversum* with so much Gold that he could scarce go, wherefore he went no further than the Bishops campe, where he stayed. *John Nortell* went as farre as *Dewenter*, and soone after returned without effect. *Hilversum* writ a sensible letter to the people of *Munster*, wherein he acknowledged that his former Prophesies were impostures, and exhorted them to open their eyes to see how they were deluded by a company of rascals, what beastly life they led, having violated all Lawes of pudicity and honesty, and what danger they were in, of a miserable destruction.

These letters moved the hearts of many that already were weary of that life; for their publike ordinary grew short, and was reduced to one meale a day, & a short one, where their community of goods was violated, for every one had his bread by weight: But while they fasted in the Town, they feasted in the Court, for the King fared sumptuously to the very last. Which one of his wives disliking, said once, that she thought not that such a course was pleasant to God, that in the publike misery, while some pined for hunger, others should surfet with plenty. The King being told of it, brought her to the market place with his other wives, made her kneel down, and cut off her head, then made his other wives to sing and give praises for it to their heavenly father. Then he led a dance, and commanded all the people to dance, and rejoyce with him, though the poore people had no great heart to dance, being fed with bread and fish only.

At the same time two young men of the Town, weary of that fare, were taken running away, and brought backe unto the King, who killed them both with his own hand. And to

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At the same time two young men of the Town, weary of that fare, were taken running away, and brought backe unto the King, who killed them both with his own hand. And to

appeaſe the people, of whom many began to repent of their errour, and murmured againſt him, he made them a fine ſpeech, ſaying that he would never have thought that they being borne again by a new Baptiſme would ſhew themſelvs ſo impatient in their ſufferings for Gods cauſe, whereas they ſhould have followed *Pauls* example, bearing hunger, nakedneſſe and cold, to attain to the haven of ſalvation. That God was powerfull enough to ſend them Manna and quailes from Heaven. That he had great troopes in *Holland* and *Frize*, that would certainly come with great proviſion of victuals, and beate the enemy backe. That God had revealed him, that at Eaſter they ſhould be delivered for certain.

To confirme the people he would from that time appeare every day abroad in his greateſt glory, and made his Queene ſhew her ſelfe often with a crowne of gold on her head, and royally attired and attended, and ſhe became that pompe very well, for ſhe was of an exquiſite beauty; Himſelfe altered one point of his ordinary pompe, for whereas the Bible was carried before him at his right hand, and a naked ſword on the left, he tranſferred the ſword to the right hand, of which he gave this reaſon, that the Goſpell had been preſented to the impenitent world, but now the ſword came in the place, to deſtroy thoſe that had rejected the Goſpell. With ſuch toyes and riddles he fed the eyes and the eares of the hungry people, much like the *Lydians*, that invented games to paſſe away their hunger in a yeare of famine.

Wel, Eaſter came, and no help came, this put our Prophet King to his plunges; he ſhut himſelfe up, faining to be ſicke, for ſixe dayes, then he came forth and ſaid to the people, that in his ſickneſſe God had ſet him upon a blind Aſſe, and laid upon him the ſinnes of the whole multitude, whereby they were all made cleane and free from their ſins, and that this was the deliverance which God had promiſed them at Eaſter. Sure if ever there was a falſe Chriſt, this was one.

Much

Much did he rely upon the negotiation of *John Gelts* whom he dayly expected, believing as it was true, that he had a great party in *Holland* and *Frize*: And indeed *Gelts* did all that the wit of man could do to raise troopes for his King in those Countries, which he put all in combustion, as we shall heare in the following Chapter. But he was killed in a tumult which he had raised in *Amsterdam*, and some troopes of his confederates that were comming to relieve *Munster*, were defeated in *Frize* at *Bolsward*.

This poore Lord of misrule, hearing those ill newes cast off all hope, and could no more put a good face to his desperate case; For Famine was fierce in the Town, bread was spent long ago, horses, dogs and cats were consumed, the grasse and the very roots were pickt out of the ground: and the people sollicited by letters from the campe, but more by their own extremity, were taking counsell to take the King, and deliver him to the enemy, to buy their peace. In that extremity the King commands the gates to be set open, and that as many as would should go forth: So in one day a thousand of all ages and sexes went out of the Town, and yielded to the mercy of the Prince, who mildly received them, fed them, and let them go.

A few dayes after, famine increasing in the Town, the King proclaimed that as many as wanted faith in Gods help, should voyd the Town, saying withall, that those that should forsake the faith, should be forsaken of God. Many were so blindly zealous, that this speech stayd them, and they chose rather to perish in the Town, than seem to forsake the faith; yet many weary to feed upon starved mice, and broyled shoes, and leane Prophesies, hearkened to good counsell, and tooke the safety that was offered them. *Antonius Corvinus* a Lutheran Divine writes, that he hath seen books whose covering was eaten in the famine, and that when the town was taken, children halfe eaten were found in corners.

Yet

Yet in that generall famine, the King had six months provision left, and kept a good table to the very last.

They had not held out so long, but that the Princes met at *Coblents*, could not agree about the contribution, and so the siege went but slowly one; But the Emperour made them meet again at *Wormes* in *Aprill*, where fifty thousand crowns a month were granted to the Bishop for five monthes, and it was ordered that after the taking of the Town, the innocent people should be spared, and that all the good Citizens that were come out, or kept in by force, should have restitution of all their goods. By order of the Princes, the Army was delivered to *Obersteyn*, who because the pay was slow, which made the Souldiers discontent and mutinous, could do no great exployt.

Yet finally the town was taken in *Iune*, 1535, having endured a siege of eighteen months. It was neither yeelded nor forced, but surprized, by the meanes of two that sled out of the towne, and guided *Obersteyns* souldiers in the night, through the town ditch, where the water was fordable: they scaled the wales, killed the watches, and put the next Court of guard to the sword. The noyse of it awaked the townsmen, who by reason of their light supper, had but a light sleepe. They had time to make a strong barrecadoe in the market place, and fought valiantly a long time, putting the Bishops Souldiers to the worse till they broke open one of the towne gates, and let in more men. The townsmen seeing themselves oppreſt with number, craved quarter, and had it; But the King resisted to the last, in S. *Lamberts* Church-yard and was with much ado taken, with *Knipperdulling*; *Botman* would not yeeld, and was slaine in the conflict.

The Bishop entred into the citty the next day with fifteen hundred horse, and brought out the spoile of the town from the souldiers; The Citizens that had yeelded were spared, but the fierce *Anabaptists* that could never be tamed, and

lay

lay hid in severall holes, were sought out and killed; some souldiers having made bold with the handsomest women, were poysoned with them, and found dead in their beds. This caused the death of many women, revenge being as hot as lust was before: the fairy Queene either escaped or was killed, for it was not known what became of her.

The King, and no King, was sent prisoner to a Castle foure miles from *Munster*. He went thither somewhat faster than he would, being tyed to the taile of a galloping horse, whereby his Majesty was no little discomposed. *Knipperdulling*, and *Krechting* another Prophet, were sent prisoners to *Hoxmar*, soone after, all three were brought to *Telget*, where the Bishop asked *Iohn* of *Leyden*, by what authority he had made himselfe King over his City and his people: *Iohn* of *Leyden* asked him again, who had given him any right or authority over that people, the Bishop answered that he came to it by election of the Chapter and the people, and I (said *Iohn* of *Leyden*) came in by the will and calling of God.

Two Lutheran Divines *Corvinus*, and *Kymeus* were sent to confer with *Iohn* of *Leyden*, and *Knipperdulling*: they made the first to abjure many of his errours, and found him tractable enough, and one that heard reason: But *Knipperdulling* like a mad beast, would neither heare nor answer reason, but stood only upon revelations, and a particular spirit: Of him *Iohn of Leyden* complained much, saying that he played the Pope and would affirm, that he had the same power in things spirituall, as the King had in things temporall, and that it was fit there should be one King for the temporall, & another for the spirituall. They were condemned & executed as traytors and rebels, being tyed to a stake and pulled in diverse parts of their bodyes with hot pincers for an houre and more, and then stricken in the heart with a dagger. *Kreghing* suffered the like death. *Iohn* of *Leyden* shewed a great constancy, if persisting in evil may be called so, for being at the stake, & hearing

his sentence read, he maintained that he had indeed offended the Magistrate, but that he had not offended God. After their death they were put in iron cages and hanged to a high steeple of Saint *Lambart*; *Iohn* of *Leyden* hanging higher than the two others.

So died that imaginary King of justice by the hand of justice, in the first yeare of his raigne, being but six and twenty yeeres of age, and there was an end of his Kingdome and his Propheties: He was of a faire proportion, of an awfull and yet lovely presence, of a present wit and strong judgement, eloquent, artificiall, close, politique; All the Prophets and *Anabaptists* of *Munster* were fooles but he, and he made use of their folly to serve his own ambition, which aspired to no lesse than the dominion of the world. He was indeed a dangerous instrument of Satan, likely to have made a fearfull revolution, and planted a new Monarchy in the west of the world; for all the commons in a manner of *Germany*, *Low-countries*, *Moravia*, *Switzerland*, and other Regions, in all likelyhood would had joyned with him, if he could once have come out of *Munster*, as it may appeare by the Chapters following.

Chap. V.

The tumults of the Anabaptists *in Low* Germany.

THe *Anabaptists* that made themselves masters of *Munster* were deboyshed tradesmen of *Holland* and *Frize*, and there during the troubles of *Munster*, the same spirit was working with efficacy in the children of Rebellion: They had like projects, but worse successe.

In *February* 1534. some of them raising a sedition at the

Hagbe

Hague were apprehended and put to death. In *March*, letters came from the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, who was Lord of the *Low-Countries*, offering a free pardon to all of that sect, that would within a fortnight, repent and confesse their errour, commanding withall that all persons persisting in that sect should be severely punisht according to the Lawes. Yet the same month a great multitude of *Anabaptists* with their wives and children, leaving all their estates, but what they could carry in money, offered to go over to *Overissell* with twelve ships, and being asked whether they went, they said they went to seeke such land as God would give them; But they were stayed, the Secretary of the *Hague* being sent in time to *Amsterdam* by the Emperour, to dispatch a convenient number of ships to fight with them, unlesse they disbanded and returned home, it is like they were going to *Munster*, the Sion of the *Anabaptists*. An. 1534

This restraint made them more fierce, like a streame that swels when it is stopt: for the next day at noone five *Anabaptists* came naked through the streetes with swords in their hands, crying *In the name of the Lord, The blessing of God lyeth upon on part of the City, and his curse on the other*. They were soone followed with others in armes, and the Magistrate raised in all haste some companies of Archers to oppose them; The Authors of the sedition were taken, and all was quiet for that time.

The same day, such another sedition was raised at *Harlem* in which sixe *Anabaptists* were slaine, and two at the *Hague* were executed for the like cause; shortly after, sixe of the most seditious were burnt at *Harlem*, and two women drowned.

In *May* following, letters from *Frize* were read in the Counsell of *Amsterdam*, giving warning of a plot of the *Anabaptists*, both of *Frize* and other parts, to meet in *Amsterdam* upon a certaine day, and make themselves masters of the

Town. Presently the Magistrates raised the trained bands of the City, and made them stand in armes about the Town-house, while they sate in Counsell; Then a Proclamation was sent forth that none in the City upon paine of death should harbour any stranger *Anabaptist*, and that all the *Anabaptists* that were in the City should voyd it before five of the clocke in the afternoone; That whosoever should stay after that time, should be put to death, without any remission. Towards night the Magistrates sent to search all the houses, and tooke twenty of them; Foure dayes after the Count of *Hochstrat*, Governour of *Holland*, came into the City with great part of the Counsell of Holland; and then eleven of the *Anabaptists* were beheaded, and foure burnt alive; Thirty six of that sect having abjured it were condemned to walke in procession barehead and barefoot with white sheetes about them, and burning torches in their hands; Before the month was ended, more were found, and more executed, Nine beheaded, and foure burnt, nothing but fire and sword could represse the seditious fury of that fanaticall sect.

About this time two Prophets of *Munster*, *Iames* of *Kemp*, & *Iohn Mathias* of *Middleborough*, were sent by *Iohn* of *Leyden* into *Holland*, to raise there a party for him; *Iames* of *Kemp* he had made Governour of *Amsterdam* where he had as much right to command, as in *Munster*. Their comming to *Amsterdam* raised new tumults, which caused the Earle of *Hochstrat*, to returne in *September*, to confirme the people in the Emperours obedience: In his way he visited *Leyden*, *Harlem*, and *Delfe*, and having called the Burgesses of the Cities, he concluded the destruction of all the *Anabaptists*. Being come to *Amsterdam*, he sent for the Magistrates, chid them grievously for being too remisse in executions, and presently committed two noted *Anabaptists*; Vpon which a rumour being spread in the City, that the night after, two hundred should be taken and sent bound to the *Hague*, there to bee

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executd, a great multitude aroſe towards night, and ſtood in armes about the town houſe; The Magiſtrates raiſed the trained bands, and came reſolved to fall upon them, but bloudſhed was prevented by the wiſe and moderate counſell of two of the beſt, who undertooke to ſend them home with good words, and ſo they did; for having asked them why they aſſembled themſelves in the night in ſuch a tumultuous manner, the *Anabaptists* anſwered that they would not be taken ſleeping in their beds; the Magiſtrates promiſed upon their faith and credit, that they ſhould receive no harme, and ſo they were quieted and disbanded: But this uproare did ſo fright the Count of *Hochſtrate*, that he withdrew himſelfe preſently.

All theſe were but preludes to a greater miſchiefe wrought chiefly by that pernitious inſtrument *Iames* of *Kemp*, who lay hid in *Amſterdam* ſix months, appearing only in the night, to keepe conventicles ſeducing the people: Herein he was ſtrongly ſeconded by *John Geles*, ſent by *Iohn* of *Leyden*, to be a leader of the wandring brethren to *Munſter*, as we ſaid before, and that expectation made *Munſter* hold ſo long.

But *Iohn Geles* being come to *Frize* and *Holland*, found no wandring Iſrael in the deſart, as it was reported in *Munſter*, wherefore he went to the Cities, where he made a great party, and cauſed ſeverall inſurrections, and yet was not ſeene in any for a long time.

In *January* 1535. it was diſcovered that the *Anabaptists* had a plot to ſet *Leyden* on fire by night, and although timely notice was given, fire was ſet in ſeverall places of the town, the houſes were ſearched, and the heads of the conſpiracy were taken together in one houſe, fifteene men and five women, the men were beheaded, the women drowned. An. 1535.

The next month the *Anabaptists* plaid a mad pranke in *Amſterdam*, In a womans houſe, whoſe husband was gone to the Weſt Indies; ſeven men and five women of that ſect had

a meeting. One of them *Theodoret* a Taylor, who bore himselfe for a Prophet, fell flat to the ground, and prayed with such vehemency, that he scared all the assistants out of their wits: Then rising, as it were out of an extacy, I have seen (said he) God in his Majesty, and have spoken with him, I was rapt up to heaven, then I descended into hell, and there searched every corner, the great day of the last judgement is coming: & thou (speaking to one of the company) art cursed for ever, thou art not good enough for hell, thou shalt be cast into the bottomlesse pit. Then the poore condemned man, fell on his knees, craving pardon, and the Prophet pardoned him, & announced him a ful remission of all his sins. Again in the night they met in the same place, the women having left their husbands a bed. After foure hours spent in praying & teaching, the Prophet b:armed, *Cap a pea* (for in these Canonicall robes he preached) first, put off his head-peece, then his corslet, then his sword, then his garments and his very shirt, and throweth all into the fire: then he commanded the company in authority of a Prophet to do the like, and so they did, women and all, leaving not so much as a haire-lace to tye up their scattered haire, no covering to the body, no shelter to sh.me, for so was the Prophets pleasure, that they should cast away all that came out of the earth, & burnt it as a sacrifice of sweet savor unto God: yet you may think that the burning of so many clothes, yeelded no very sweet savor, & it was such that it awaked the Mist is of the house, that knew nothing of this meeting, and made her rise to seeke where the burning was, for that smell made her afraid that the fire was in her shop, which was of wollen drapery: Being come to the place she saw eleven naked bodies, and the Prophet commanded her to put off her cloaths, and set them in the fire which she did: then the Prophet commanded them all to follow him and do as he would do, and so rushed into the street, starke naked, and all his disciples after him, running and crying horribly

ribly through the town, Woe, woe, woe, the divine vengeance, the divine vengeance: Whereby they put the whole town in an uproare, the people thinking that the town was surprized by some enemy; they were all taken but one woman that slipt out of the way, and were brought to the Magistrate, and as they stood naked in a full court, they could never be perswaded neither by commands, nor threatnings, to put on garments, which were offered them, saying, that they must have no covering, for they were the naked truth. They were kept a while in prison till the great conspiracy, two months after, and then were executed: the Mistris of the house where the conventicle was kept, was hanged before her own doores.

In *March*, a thousand men of that sect, came out of *Hainault* to *Holland*, and were repulsed in time before they gathered more strength.

The same month, three hundred *Anabaptists* fell upon the Monastery of *Bolsward* in *Frize*, rifled it, pulled down the Church; and trampled the Eucharist under their feet. *George Shenk* a great man of *Frize*, hearing of it, gathered presently a considerable number of his tenants and neighbours, and met the Rebels, offering impunity to all but ten. They answered that they would all live and dye together, and so they did; for they endured a siege in the ruines of the Monastery, where they were all killed, or taken, and executed after, saving only threescore and two men that fled.

The frequent seditions in all parts of *Holland* were hardly repress with frequent excutions, for *John Geleo* was raising seditions from city to city, to frame a party for his King. A cunning plotting projector he was, and by his leading the Monastery of *Bolsward* was taken: his intent was to go with his troop to *Munster*, and gather more strength as he went: But being defeated by *George Shenk*, he fled to *Amsterdam*, changed his name, and went for a Merchant; For by the several confessions of many that were executed for sedition, the name of *Geleo*

was

was known, & grown famous for the prime author of all the factions of *Holland* and *Frize*.

In that City he found many fit subjects for his deluſions, to whom he told wonders of the new Kingdome of righteouſneſſe at *Munſter*, their liberty of life, their pilladging of Churches, and enriching themſelves with the ſubſtance of the ungodly, and of the great deſignes of their King, and the prophecies of the propagation of his Kingdom in the world.

By ſuch diſcourſes he filled the minds of the people with a frantique zeale, and made them long to be fingering of the Chalices and Plates of Churches, & rob the Silver and Gold of the Egyptians. There was then one *Henry Goetbelis* in the town, a proper ſtrong man, that had much followed the wars, and had got a great reputation of valour: this man was won by by the *Anabaptiſts*, and made by *Geles* his aſſociate and partner of all his counſels.

And becauſe *Geles* was in great feare to be known by his right name (for the only changing of his name by the laws of the Country was puniſhable by death) he was perſwaded by his friends to go to the Court of *Brabant*, & there confeſſe his fault, and buy his pardon (which he might well, for he had brought a great ſumme of money out of *Munſter*) and then returne and converſe freely and openly, with his owne name, and have more liberty and opportunity to bring his deſignes to action.

He went then to the Court, where Queene *Mary* of *Portugall*, ſiſter to *Charles* the fifth, was Governeſſe of the ſeventeen Provinces, and ſped ſo well, that not only he obtained his pardon, but got a great truſt in the Court, promiſing to deliver the City of *Munſter* to the Emperour. To that effect he got a commiſſion under the great Seale, with a good ſum of money, to leavy ſouldiers for that ſervice.

Having thus cozened the Court, he returned to *Amſterdam*, to cozen the Magiſtrates, who ſeeing his commiſſion, and

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the greatnesse of the designe, would emulate the trust repo-
sed upon him by their Superiors, and shewed him much fa-
vour, he tooke his lodging in the Spanish ordinary, conse-
rted with men of that nation, and Religion, gave faire words to
all, which made the Magistrates secure, and himselfe un-
sufferable.

He made such use of that liberty, that in a short time he
had contrived a most politique enterprise, to make himselfe
Master of the City. In a night meeting, he announced to his
brother-hood the Oracle of *Henry Hibersum*, that God had
given to the King of *Sion*, *Amsterdam*, *Wesell*, and *Daventer*,
for the first fruits of his raigne over the world, perswading
them that to invade *Amsterdam* was an easie matter, having
to do with a few idle bellies, and that they had a faire op-
portunity at hand, to kill them all together in the towne-
house, the twelfth of the instant *May*, a day kept festivall by
ancient custome, by the society of the Crosse, who used to
make a great feast at night in the town-house, and invite all
the Magistrates, and men of meanes of the City, and there to
spend most part of the night in drinking, and looking upon
fire workes: That day then was designed for the enterprise,
and their enemies noted and designed for the slaughter, and
the richest houses already shared among them: they appoin-
ted for the signall of their rising, the ringing of the bell in the
town-house; Before they parted, *John Geles* gave to every one
a Ducat for a bond of society and secrecy. He and *Henry*
Gerbelin were to be the leaders.

The appointed night being come, some *Anabaptists* were
up before the signall; which the rest looking for, stayed so
long, that the enterprise was disappointed; for the same day
the bell rope was taken out of the way by a drunken fellow,
yet by an admirable providence of God, watching for the
safety of the City, and so there was no ringing, and no great
meeting. The Magistrates and the society of the Crosse,

hearing that the *Anabaptists* were up in armes, left their sport and went home. Yet the Magistrates were so long consulting, that they were almost surprised by their enemies who rushed with colours flying, and drums beating, into the town house, and killed some of the Sergeants and waiters, & made the masters that went before, to go out of their Aldermans pace to save their lives. Then comming to the great place where the bonefires were burning, they overthrew them, that they might give more terrour; and shoote undiscerned upon the multitude, they killed many in the darke with bullets, which they had poisoned for feare of failing, and the Burgmaster *Peter Colin* being come to encounter them with a troop of Citizens, was by them slaine, and his men put to flight. Then one *Goswin*, a man of great authority in the city and one that had valour and skill in war, commanded that the streetes should be stopt with great sacks of Hops, heaped up to be instead of gabions, against the shot of the *Anabaptists*. And because he trusted not in the feare full and unexperienced Citizens, he called volunteeres, to whom he promist a months pay for that dayes service; By that meanes he got many that had seene warre before, and made a gallant company.

The night being darke, he could attemp nothing till day, only he tooke an order that all the waies to the market place (where the *Anabaptists* stood in armes) should be stopt, and that the rest of the people should keepe at home without noise: this order frighted the *Anabaptists*, seeing no hope to be assisted by their brethren, who for want of the signal of the bell were not come, & now it was too late for them to come, the wayes being stopt, and having lost the first opportunity of the fright of the people, who now were come to themselves, and stood upon their defence. Then *Gerbelt* said to *Gelt*, this was my feare, that beginning this enterprise with so few we should come short of it (for they were not above

forty)

forty) now all that we have to do is to dy like men. Nay (sayd *Geles*) if you will beleeve a Prophet, we shall be masters of the City before to morrow ten of the clock: then they sung Psalmes all night, at the breake of day, the people perceiving them, began to shoote at them, which made them retire into the town-house, and there keepe strong; the people brought ordinance before it, and were ready to have battered it down, but *Gosvin* would try first to assault the doore, which was done with effect, although the *Anabaptists* fought it out stoutly, and but twelve of them were taken, the rest was killd and *Geerthelis* one of them. *Iohn Geles* that would by any means cozen the hangman of his fees, gate upon a little steeple where the town bell hung, and gave a faire marke to the souldiers below who shot him thorough, whereof he fell down dead into the place. The prisoners were executed, and some more of the town, and some living without the gates, who hearing shooting of guns, were come to pillage the City, supposing that it was taken. Two women were hanged, and two drowned for poysoning the bullets; many more since were executed, and amongst others, some of those that danced that Antique Masque of naked men and women, and a woman and her sonne, for receiving *Iames* of *Kemp*, contrary to the order of the Magistrate. For it had been proclaimed in the town, that whosoever should harbour him, and not discover him before night, should be hanged at his door, but he that should discover him should have a great reward, He was found hid in a heape of turves, and executed with ignominy, having a two horned miter on his head, because he played the Bishop. His tongue was cut off, wherewith he had preached sedition, and his hand wherewith he baptized without authority.

A little before the great plot, foureteene had conspired, when a solemne procession should go over the bridge, to throw the Eucharist and them that carried it, down the bridg

into the water, the plot was detected and the Authors executed.

John Geles had warned three hundred men of *Iselstein*, to meet him at *Amsterdam*, three or foure dayes after this immodest enterprize, intending with that garrison to keepe the town; They came neare it, but hearing how matters went with their brethren, they dispersed themselves presently, and returned home by severall wayes. He had appointed more brethren from severall places, to come at a certaine day; but they hearing the ill successe of their tribe, tooke their way into *England*, in two ships, and here it seemeth they have stayed ever since.

And now the heart of that faction was broken in all the *Low Countries*, for they left not searching and executing, in every city till all that generation was extinct or brought so low that they left plotting. Ten yeares after, some reliques of that faction would offer to stir at *Leyden*, the authors being taken and examined, confest that the *Anabaptists* had chosen a King who was not crowned yet, and was to succeed *John* of *Leyden*, and another to be his high Treasurer, and that both were at *Utrecht*. Both were apprehended, and kept some yeares in prison. Among other exploits of that elected King, he had brought his wife into a wood, and there killed her, that without interruption he might lye with her daughter, and had lately cut a young wenches throat least she should detect him; good store of Plate was found in his house, most of it Church Plate: It seemes that party began to make a stocke for a new Kingdome, the King and his Treasurer were burnt. That was the last sparke of that faction till our times.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Anabaptists of Switzerland, and other places.

THe South of *Germany*, was not free from that sect, at *Zurich* they began to picke a quarrell with Ministers, who did their best to reduce them with reason and mildnesse, for eight or nine weekes together, they conferred with them every tuesday, and being overcome in dispute, they fled to revelations, their ordinary sanctuary, falling into trance before the company, and when they waked out of it, saying that they had a revelation that the doctrine of *Zuinglius* was damnable, and *Anabaptisme* holy, and that the day of judgement should be within two yeares. Dayly they prophecyed in the market place, girded about with a rope, or a weeth, calling the chiefe Minister of the place (*Iohn Gastius*) the ancient dragon, and his Colleagues the heads of the Dragon; boasting of their holinesse (which consisted much in the reaching the rich men community of goods) and crying in the streetes Woe, woe, woe, to the City of *Zurich*; some went so far, as to give forty dayes time to *Zurick*, as *Ionas* did to *Nineve*, after which it must be destroyed. After a long patience of the Magistrate, they were put in prison, where they were again convented in conference by the Ministers, and many times conducted by their keepers to a publike meeting wher all the people might heare the conferences. Finding themselves short of reason and confuted by Scripture, they would answer that what they could not prove by reason and Scripture, they would prove by their bloud. Thus ten conferences were held, and two of them in the Church, every conference lasting three dayes, where they got so much discredit

into the water, the plot was detected and the Authours executed.

John Geles had warned three hundred men of *Iselstein*, to meet him at *Amsterdam*, three or foure dayes after this intended enterprize, intending with that garrison to keepe the town; They came neare it, but hearing how matters went with their brethren, they dispersed themselves presently, and returned home by severall wayes. He had appointed more brethren from severall places, to come at a certaine day; but they hearing the ill succesſe of their tribe, tooke their way into *England*, in two ships, and here it seemeth they have stayed ever since.

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FINIS.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Anabaptists of Suitzerland, and other places.

THe South of *Germany*, was not free from that sect, at *Zurich* they began to picke a quarrell with Ministers, who did their best to reduce them with reason and mildnesse, for eight or nine weekes together, they conferred with them every tuesday, and being overcome in dispute, they fled to revelations, their ordinary sanctuary, falling into trance before the company, and when they waked out of it, saying that they had a revelation that the doctrine of *Zuinglius* was damnable, and *Anabaptisme* holy, and that the day of judgement should be within two yeares. Dayly they prophecyed in the market place, girded about with a rope, or a wreath, calling the chiefe Minister of the place (*Iohn Gastius*) the ancient dragon, and his Colleagues the heads of the Dragon; boasting of their holinesse (which consisted much in the reaching the rich men community of goods) and crying in the streetes Woe, woe, woe, to the City of *Zurich*; some went so far, as to give forty dayes time to *Zurich*, as *Ionas* did to *Nineve*, after which it must be destroyed. After a long patience of the Magistrate, they were put in prison, where they were again convented in conference by the Ministers, and many times conducted by their keepers to a publike meeting where all the people might heare the conference. Finding themselves short of reason and confuted by Scripture, they would answer that what they could not prove by reason and Scripture, they would prove by their bloud. Thus ten conferences were held, and two of them in the Church, every conference lasting three dayes, where they got so much discredit

to their cause, that the number of their sectaries decreased much, and the Senate proclaimed, that if any should rebaptize such as were baptized already, he should be drowned. And so, many were baptized the third time, and *Zurich* was in peace.

The Genius of that sect was every where alike, for they went from city to city where they heard that reformation was received, (not to any Popish town) and whersoever they came, they presently troubled the State, and filled all with clamour and sedition. By them was the town of *Waleat* miserably ransacked, and all the Inhabitants driven away out of their possessions: The like they were like to have done at *Wormes*, at *Ausburg*, at *Bazell*, at *Shafuse*, at *Berne*, at *Lucerne*, at *Passaw*, I will not weary the reader with all these passages, their actions at *Munster* and *Amsterdam*, are sufficient to give a Character of that sect, and I aime at no more, *Crimine ab uno disce omnes*; I will adde but a few more of their maximes, and some passages of their behaviour; observing no order of time, for my authours observe none.

Iob. Gastio Lib. 1. contra Catabaptistas p. 10.

It was their constant doctrine every where, that women must be common. Three reasons they had well worthy to be registred to posterity, to perswade honest women to prostitute their bodyes, if they would be saved. The first was, that Christians must renounce those things which they love best; and therefore women must renounce their beloved honesty. The second, that for Christs sake we must undergo any kind of infamy: The third reason was, that the Publicans and harlots shall go before the Pharisees in the Kingdome of heaven. Lying with other women than their wives, they called spirituall marriages, and under that title they would lye with neeces and sisters. With that doctrine they had seduced two sisters, maidens at Saint *Gall* by *Zurick*; As soone as they were rebaptized they being a bed, two spirituall husbands came to them and lay with them, but with such fervent spirit

Iob. Gastio lib. 4. p. 21.

that

that they brake the bottome of the bed-stead out; the noise whereof awaked the people of the house, who comming up in haste found two spirituall wedding in one broken bed.

They had a maine reason for community of women, that as Christians are all one spirit, they must also be all one body. which it seemeth they had learned of the *Carpocratians*, * who held the same doctrine, as their doctrine of rebaptizing seemeth to be an offering of the old *Hemero baptistæ*, that were baptized every day, or the [b] *Marcionites*, that received three baptismes. My Author saith, that these two poore maidens of St. *Gall*, before they were *Anabaptists*, had been much sollicited, and could never be wonne, till they were perswaded to be whores for conscience sake.

* Epi lib. 1. Tom. 2.

[a] Idem l. 2. Tom. p. c. 27.

[b] Idem l. 1. Tom. 3.

In the same town, one of that sect, being in his Prophetical mood, called his father, mother, brother, and sisters, commanded his brother to kneel down, & then he cut off his head with one blow, which done, the will of God is done, said he, and ran out of doores to the Burgmaster, to whom he said, I announce unto thee the day of the Lord, meaning the day of Ascension at hand, in the yeare 1541. A day, which two yeares before they had foretold should be the day of judgement; But the Burgmaster announced him his day of judgement, and he was executed as he deserved.

It were an endlesse taske to rehearse their severall errours, which because all among them were preachers, could not but multiply *in infinitum*: They held among other things that rebaptized men cannot sinne, because they are Gods children, that all Ministers that hold Church livings, are from the Devill: That the Apostles had nothing proper, but went from house to house, some would say that they had no need of the Lords Prayer, because they prayed by the Spirit; many denyed the God-head of Christ, and for that two were executed at *Newsbastel*. In *Moravia* especially that opinion was received, which country, because of the looseness of

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the government, swarmed with *Anabaptists*, and was cryed up by the Sectaries of *Switzerland*, and upper *Germany*, for a land of promise, and thither many of them removed their household, when they found themselves repress.

One of them committed a notable imposture, In the night time he put a great number of fishes in a foule pudle where the people used to wash horses, and in the morning he prophesied, thus saith the Lord, cast nets in this pudle and you shall get good fish, a thing incredible, for never any fish was seen there. But as his word, his disciples cast the net, and enclosed multitude of fishes, so that the net brake. Thus the profane rascall would imitate the miracle of Christ, and God in his anger gave efficacy of errour to that false miracle which deceived many.

By *Basel* there was an uproare of some vilages who would have three things, abolish all tythes, pull downe all Magistrates, and kill all the ungodly, but they were stopt in time and disbanded and fined. The ground of these attempts of the *Anabaptists* in so many places, was a dreame they had of a temporall Kingdome of Christ, with whom all the Godly should raigne in earth without any infirmity of body or soule, all Gods enemies being destroyed first, for all *Anabaptists* were and are still *Chiliasts*, expounding litterally that Kingdome of a thousand yeares, of *Revel.* 20. 6. to be a temporall Kingdom. That fancy put many of them out of their wits, all the histories that speake of them, relate many examples of their looking seriously for the comming of the Lord upon such a night, being warned by revelation, which made them fast and pray that night, and put all their businesses out of order.

Much conference they had with the Angell *Gabriel*, and one of their women, a very poore one, saw him to her thinking, in a vision, bidding her to lay the cloath and invite her neighbours, and then God would send her Manna and quailes

from

from heaven, and that her table should flow with milke and honey, In that confidence she laid the cloath and invited her neighbours, who were so silly as to come; Then the good woman fell to prayers, to fetch Manna and quailes from heaven, but none came, & the neighbours put up their knives, and went home having had long graces, but no meate. Another woman had a revelation that God would keepe her alive without meate, and she fasted to death.

Vnder pretence of childish innocency, they played many mad prankes, one having kept his excrements in store many dayes, powred it into the street, and turned himselfe naked into it, saying, for his reason, that unlesse we be made like little children, we cannot enter into the Kingdome of heaven. Others for the same reason, would ride naked upon sticks and hobby horses, like children in great companies, and women would run naked with them, and then in pure innocency they lay together, and so in the end it proved childrens play indeed.

Mad feats might have been suffered or repressed with mild courses, but their general design to pul down all Magistrates, and kil all the ungodly, that is, all that were none of their sect, provoked the just severity of the Princes & commonwealths against them; and for 20. yeares, many thousands of them were killed, burned, and drowned, till their reliques were so contemptible, that they were let alone for compassion.

Chap. VII.

Conclusion.

And now let the sufferings of so many Churches & states by that pernitious sect, be a warning to our Church and State to beware of all doctrines, and proceedings that have any affinity with theirs. For I am afraid that *Anabaptisme* is

very life in *England*, though not perhaps in one entire body, but ſcattered in peeces like the limbs of *Aſyrtus*, here one tenet of *Anabaptiſme*, and there another; yet not ſo ſcattered but they meet in one head, which is the hatred of all rule: Marke the end of the preſent diſtempers; without Prophetical ſpirit, this I will make bold to foretell, what rule ſoever our wiſe and pious Parliament ſhall fit, it will not ſet bounds to the unquiet ſpirit of a lawleſſe generation, which is now crying, let Chriſt rule, becauſe they would have no rule: It is not ſo much the miſrule of Epiſcopacy, that they ſtrike at, they have a quarrell at all rules. Rule is that they feare, ſet any rule in the Church, they will call it perſecution: And they do not mince it, they ſay openly that therefore they diſlike ſome things commanded, becauſe they are impoſed. Is not that the very leaven of the Prophets of *Munſter*, and *Amſterdam*?

To paſſe from that head of *Anabaptiſme* to the limbs, millenaries are moſt frequent with us; men that looke for a temporall Kingdome of Chriſt, that muſt begin preſently, and laſt a thouſand yeares. Of that opinion are moſt of our Apocalypticall men, that ſtudy more the future events, than their preſent duty, & are more ruled by Propheſies than precepts.

This fancy is moſt dangerous for all ſtates, for to promote that Kingdom of Chriſt, they teach that all the ungodly muſt be killed, that the wicked have no propriety in their eſtates, and that now the promiſe muſt be fulfilled, that the meeke ſhall inherit the earth. This doctrine filleth the ſimple people with a furious and unnaturall zeale, which breathes nothing but fire and ſword, and maketh them looke upon their country men, with ſuch an eye as the *Anabaptiſts* caſt upon *Munſter*, when they came firſt into it, a malignant and covetous eye, already deſigning their prey, and marking the rich to ruine & deſtruction. God ſave us from a reformation wrought by a multitude miſled with a frantick zeale, and giddy revelations.

lations, for then, God helpe them that have plate, or coyne in their houſes, they ſhall be ſure to be taken for limbs of the Antichriſt, and all the good townes of the Kingdome, ſhall be reformed like *Munſter* and *Walcus*.

Another maine peece of *Anabaptiſme*, is that over great confidence that many have, that they are ruled by the ſpirit, which maketh them deſpiſe all ordinary calling to the Miniſtery, all written prayers, all helpes of ſtudy, all reaſon and good counſell, Why? all theſe bind the Spirit, who bloweth where he liſteth, and ſome begin to make conſcience to heare and ſing the Pſalmes, becauſe they are written prayers, which bind the ſpirit, chuſing rather to condemn the Word of God than their own inventions; as he that wou'd not beleeve the ſunne becauſe it agreed not with his watch. I expect that ſome will ſay with *John* of *Leyden*, that if the Word of God were loſt they might ſoone ſupply it with another.

Likewiſe this ordinary preſumptuous ſaying of theirs, be in Chriſt, and ſin if thou canſt, meaning that regenerate men cannot ſin, is the very doctrine of the *Anabaptiſts*; and ſo theſe maximes, that to take the Communion where there is a profane perſon, is to partake with his profaneneſſe. That the Lords Prayer was never taught to be ſaid, that the Goſpell was never purely taught, ſince the Apoſtles, till the laſt Reformation; That whoſoever hath a gift may teach without any calling; that diſtinction betweene Clergy and Laity is only for the Kingdome of the Antichriſt That a liberty of Prophecying muſt be allowed, that diſtinction of pariſhes is Antichriſtian, that Miniſters of Gods Word ſhould rule both the ſpirituall and the temporall; that all humane Lawes muſt be aboliſhed, and all policies of States muſt be taken out of the Word of God, and all differens betweene parties judged out of the word of God only. All theſe are Sions of that ſtock of *Anabaptiſme*, that was tranſplanted out of *Holland* in the yeare 1535, when two ſhips laden with *Anabaptiſts*, fled into

England

England after they had mist the enterprise of *Amsterdam*,

To these doctrines you may joyne their practise. The seditious Pamphlets, the tumultuous rising of rude multitudes threatning bloud and destruction; the preaching of the cobblers, feltmakers, taylors, grooms, and women, the chusing of any place for Gods service but the Church; the night meetings of naked men and women; the licentiousnesse of spirituall marriages without any legall forme; These things if they be not looked into, will bring us in time to community of wives, community of goods, and destruction of all.

The Lord regard our confusions in pity, not in anger, and so direct our gracious King, and his religious Parliament, with the good spirit of his feare, that what they have well begun, they may well finish; going thorough that great worke of Reformation, with Piety, wisdome, and courage, weeding out of the Church all that hath any relish of Popery, either remained of old, or newly brought forth again, to the great and just offence of all good Christians, and together suppressing the growth of *Anabaptisme*, which is the canker of Religion, and the gangrine of the State, and that speedily, before it eate us up to the heart.

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Many Remarkeable

PASSAGES

from both Houses of PARLIAMENT.

From the 12. of *May* till this present, Concerning the great affaires of the whole Kingdome.

With many more Passages of great Consequence concerning Sir *Edward Deering* and divers other *Kentish-men*, and concerning a Charge to be drawne up against them for their speedy Tryall.

WITH

The Examination of Mistresse *Sanders*, living at *Ratcliffe*, Sister to *Oneale*, before the House of Commons, the 12. of *May*, 1642.

Also another Examination by the Honourable House of Commons, Concerning Sir *Nicholas Cole*, and the Inhabitants of *Newcastle*. *May* 13. 1642.

Together with an Order of both Houses of Parliament, Concerning the continuance of the Terme at *Westminster*. *John Brownes Cleric Parliament.*

Likewise his Majesties Letter to the Gentry of *Yorkeshire*, *May*, 16. 1642.

London, Printed for *T. Ryder*.. 1642.

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London, Printed for T. Ryder.. 1642.

Many Remarkable Passages from both Houses of Parliament, from the 12. of May, till this present, concerning the great affayres of the whole Kingdome.

UPon the 9. day of this present moneth of May, there was a Committee of the House of Commons sate concerning the differences betweene Sir *Nicholas Cole* (Major) and the Townesmen of *Newcastle*; where witnesses were examined in that cause, and an Order issued to be sent to *Newcastle*, for the

forthwith to *Mason* Castle for the bringing up of more Witnesses.

Vpon this present day there was also then given up at the Court gate a Command from His Majesty by Sir *Nicholas Hand* for the speedy repaire of all his Majesties Servants in Ordinary to YORKE, upon paine of his Majesties displeasure, the house of Commons falling into consultation of the malignant party of the Kingdome, and among others, of Sir *Edward Deering*, and the residue that were instructers in the late scandalous Petitions delivered from Kent, and having prepared a charge against them, at a desired conference it was then moved for their speedy triall.

Vpon the 12. day of this instant Moneth, one Mrs. *Sanders* of *Ratcliffe*, Sister to *Oneale*, was brought to the house of Commons upon report made that they furnished *Oneale* with conveniencies for his escape, who being examined thereupon before a Committee appeared, and denying thereof, was com-

committed to Custody, till convenient time for her examination.

Diver's Committees of this house of Commons, were appoynted to meet on Wednesday last in the afternoone, for Sr. *Cornelious Vermuds* Bill, for the Fines of Recusants and other delinquents.

But the Body of the house met and sate in a Committee, for the nomination of the time and place, as the Synod to meet, which occasioned much conferring,

The Lords assembled in this present Parliament, received a Complaint against one Captaine [illegible] who had formerly had Command in the Ile of *Providence*, before the rising of the Spaniard, by a Souldier that was under him in the Voyage, and concerning some pretended oppressions and crimes laid to take away his life (by the said Captain) after some debate thereof it was referred to a Committee for Examination.

Up-

Upon the 13. day of this present moneth, 1642. The House of Commons taking into consideration His Majesties late Message, and the danger the Committees of each House underwent residing at *York*, then after some debate they Voted, that whosoever here were that should attach or imprison either the said Members, or any other of each House, imployed on their service, should be accounted as an enemy to the State and Common-Wealth, &c. Which being acquainted the Lords at a Conference, it were assented too, and a joynt Order issued for the printing of the said Votes,

And likewise Order issued to the Sheriffe of *Yorkeshire*, for the sending up of those Delinquents in their County formerly sent for, but not yet appeared

Die-

Die Martis, 17 Maii, 1642.

Hereas the Lords in Parliament, have this day been Informed, That the King is Resolved to adjourn the next Terme from *Westminster* to *Yorke*; Upon which, The Lords sent a Committee to the Lord Keeper of the great Seale of *England*, to know of him, whether hee had received any command touching the same, who acquainted the said Committee, That hee had received command from His Majesty, to issue Proclamations and Writs, to that purpose.

Whereupon, This House taking the said matter into consideration, hath Voted: That the Kings removall of the Terme to *Yorke*, from *Westminster*, during sitting of this Parliament, is Illegall.

And hath further ordered, That the said Lord Keeper shall not issue out any Writs, or Seale any Proclamation, for adjourning the said next Terme from *Westminster* to *Yorke*, as aforesaid.

Joh. Browne, Cleric. Parl.

His

His Majesties Letter to the Gentry of Yorkshire,

May, the sixteenth, 1642.

To our right trusty and well beloved the Gentry of *York*, and others of this our County of *York*, whom it doth or may concern.

WE have with great contentment considered your dutifull and affectionate *Answer* to our Proposition concerning the unsufferable affront which we received at *Hull*, We have not bin deceived in that confidence we had in your affection, wherefore we desire you to assure the rest of your Countrymen, who through negligence were omitted to be summoned: that We shall never abuse your love by any power wherewith God shall enable us to the least violation of the least of your Liberties, or the diminution of those Immunities which we have granted you this Parliament, though they be beyond the Acts of many (if not all) Our Predecessours, being resolved with a constant and firme Resolution to have the Law of this Land duely observed, and shall endeavor onely so to preserve Our just Royall Rights, as may enable us to protect our Kingdome and people, according to the antient Custom of the Kings of *England*, and according to the trust which by the Law of God and this Land is put into the Crowne, being sufficiently witnessed by the late affront at *Hull*, not to transferre the same out of our power, concerning which *Affront* we will take some time to advise, which way we may usefully *employ your affections*, in the mean time we shall take it well from all such as shall personally attend us, *to be followed and provided* as they shall thinke fit for the better safety of our person, because We know not what sudden violence, or affront may be offered unto us, having lately received such an actuall testimony of rebellious intentions as Sir *John Hotham* have expressed at *Hull*: Being thus secured by your affections and allegiance we promise you our Protection against any contrary power whatsoever, And that you shall not be molested for your humble and modest Petition, as of late have been threatned.

Given at Our Court at Yorke, May the 16. 1642.

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THE SOVNDHEADS DESCRIPTION OF THE ROVNDHEAD.

OR

THE ROVNDHEAD

Exactly Anatomized in his Integralls and Excrementalls, by the untwisting a threefold Knott.

1. Who the *Roundheads* be, or what a *Roundhead* is in *rerum natura*, and his Pedigree.
2. The reall Causes producing a *Roundhead*.
3. The properties and peculiarities of a *Roundhead*.

Now published to satisfie the whole World in the resolution of this monstrous Beast, who and what he is, and by what markes he may be knowne and seene.

Printed at the request of *Gregory Scotch-marke* (or thirteen-pence-halfe peny) inhabiting in *Barber-Surgeons* Alley, at the signe of the new fashioned Perriwigg:

In the yeare of the Roundhead *his hopes confounded*, 1642.

LONDON

Printed in the yeare 1642. for *I. B.*

To the judicious Reader.

Amongſt thoſe infinite number of Pamphlets *and* Libells, *wherewith this knowing Iſland, to wit, the Citie and Countrey is peſtered, and the ayre thereof infected and poyſoned with the ſulphurous breathings of their vanitie, prophaneneſſe and lyes, every houre producing ſomething new, ſomething wicked, ſomething fooliſh, little true: according to the ſeverall conſtitutions and diſpoſitions of the Climactericall men of this age, from thoſe hourely events and occurrences of perſons, things and times: There is one ignorant fooliſh wicked* Pamphlet *or* Libell *of the* Roundheads *lately Printed, receiving its monſtrous prodigious and untimely birth from the Wombe of an* ignoramus. *And the which* Pamphlet *or* Libell, *is as full of lyes and folly, as a beggar of lice and a dog of fleas: being the moſt falſe, fooliſh, and ignorant deſcription of the* Roundheads: *And hath occaſioned this ſhort diſcourſe following (in its due and full ſeaſon) to ſtep forth in the clothing of a* Pamphlet, *to meet with fooles in their folly, And by good skill and ſtrength of armes to bray him in a Morter, till this* ignoramus *and his Proſelytes be convinced and diſarmed of their ſordid, ſenceleſſe, and groſſe ignorance, in framing ſo falſe and filly a deſcription, and applying the terme* Roundhead *to thoſe perſons whom there is not the leaſt ſhew of reaſon or honeſty to evince it.*

The judicious Reader, *is requeſted to behold really as in a glaſſe the reall and true deſcription of a* Roundhead *indeed, and to whom it may properly with ſound and undeniable grounds and reaſons be applyed unto, according to the Inſcription or Title of this ſhort diſcourſe: referring the whole matter in hand to thy wiſdome, judgement, and conſcience, ever reſting a reall Servant to all vertuous Readers.*

BRITISH MUSEUM

Soundheads.

THE SOVNDHEADS DESCRIPTION OF THE ROVNDHEAD,

OR

A *Roundhead* Anatomized in his Integralls or Excrementalls.

A *Roundhead*, according to the title or inscription of this Discourse (being the untying the first knot) may be defined or expressed in these twelve severall Expressions or Definitions.

There be these twelve severall Definitions of a Roundhead, *whereby all men may both know and see what and who he is.*

A Roundhead *in* Rerum Natura *is.*

1. A white bald smooth pate, under a Perriwigg of the newest fashion.

2. A smooth round bowle, kissing his Mistresse in a long covered Bowling-alley.

3. A very tender thing, for it must at noone-day weare a long furr'd Night cap.

4. That which onely appeares in the night in bed-chambers like a Ghost, or Hobgoblin.

5. An Owle in an Ivie-bush, who cannot endure the light and sight of truth and honesty, as the Owle cannot behold the Sunne in the mid-day.

6. In a Circular motion all the day time, tossed up and downe like a Tennis-ball by the Racket of every foole, from one hazard to another,

ther, till it hath worne out all its bowels: That is, It is a Roundheaded Gentleman in his new Periwigg, his head and his wits running round, led and carried up and down by every foole from one mischiefe to another, till he hath worne out and lost all his wits and his money.

7. Is a Civit-catt with a long tayle, who is a perfumed odoriferous Perriwigd Roundhead.

8. A sweetfac'd Puppy curled and crisped.

9. The Counterfeit of a *Holland* Cheese with a Map on his head.

10. A living skull wrapped up in a winding sheet of dead mens excrements.

11. A strange homebred Monster, carried up and downe in a little house one story high (by the learned called a *Sedan*) to a Play-house, where any man may see him for twelve pence a peece upon the Stage,

12. One covered with a narrow brimmd hatt,
With a top-top-gallant crowne very flatt.
And a round blocke under that.
Well bushed and shagg'd downe to his backe.
And strongly perfumed with Sacke.
While his braines doe ake and cracke.
And his tongue doth sweare and chatt.
And curse his Brother Roundheads that.
Turned him into a Counter Ratt.

These Twelve Definitions of a *Roundhead*, anatomize the Monster to be one who would be thought and called a Gentleman, when indeed he is one of the Raskally witles generation, or a bladder preposterously blowne up by the stinking breath of some windy brained foole, with a Peacocks feather in his hatt, vapouring and flourishing in the circle of his owne conceit, that he is a naturall Gentleman borne, when he is but an artificiall *Woodstreet* or *Poultrey*-Counter-feit Gentleman at his best. This Superlative, admirable wonder (among children and fooles) is one that (*par la fortune de la guerre*) hath lost his naturall haire from his naturall head: and thereupon he is deprived of his naturall witts: his haire being newly gone, his wirts went presently after a wooll-gathering, and a long while scattered as fast as they gathered, till at length meeting with a deere and neere friend of his *Gregory Scotch-mark*, a mile beyond *Holborne-hill*, (a notable Mountebanke of approved skill in the cures of all diseases) who adviseth him to some artificialists, whom he furnisheth with all the dead men and womens wooll of their heads, which comes under the shaving of his hands every Sessions, who being

of

of notable skill in the excrementall art, doe at the proper coſt and charges of this diſtreſſed Gentleman, ſo compoſe, contract, and weave this wooll, that it is made an excellent covering to hang about his noddle, and then he becomes immediately at the firſt putting on, and ſo forwards, an artificiall Gentleman *Roundhead*. And they paſſe and are eſteemed by many for Squires and Gentlemen, of no little wit, and furniſh the *Arithmeticians* of the age with figures and cyphers, whereby in the *Arithmeticians* accompt, they are reckoned and caſt up in haire infinite, but in wit meere Cyphers.

2. *The reall Cauſes producing this* Roundhead.

There are ſeverall cauſes in Nature, naturall cauſes, therefore according to our deſcription in the Title, we muſt anatomize this *Roundhead* in his integralls and excrementalls, from his Round head to his round heele; the diſcuſſion whereof will complete the cauſes producing this *Roundhead*.

For his Integralls in generall.

His ſoule and body throughout, in all and every part, his whole naturall frame and conſtitution (is for the preſent) a rude, vaſt, unpoliſhed *Chaos* of ſin & iniquitie, a perſon who is ſold under ſin, a ſlave and vaſſall to ſin, the Devill, the world, the fleſh, full of all darkneſſe, corruption, and filth: being moſt contrary & abominable to all beauty, light, goodnes, libertie, and ſweetneſſe: So that where there is ſo univerſall a contagion and confuſion, ſuch a leproſie of iniquitie, throughout and all over, it muſt needs follow undeniably, that here is ſufficient matter for the producing of this round-headed Monſter. As will more conſpicuouſly appeare in the particular anatomizing, or embowelling of this Monſter in his Integralls.

Firſt, He is a perſon whoſe heart is filled with all manner of prophaneneſſe, baſeneſſe, and wickedneſſe, as pride, uncleanneſſe, adultery, fornication, idolatry, ſuperſtition, atheiſme, hardneſſe of heart, hatred, envy, full of all deceitfulneſſe, lyes, falſhood, evill thoughts, purpoſes, intents full of treaſons and conſpiracies, againſt all that is pure, good, holy, heavenly, and ſpirituall, witneſſe the very conſciences of the Roundheads themſelves, if they will looke into them, and but heare and ſuffer them to ſpeake.

Secondly, He is a perſon whoſe mind and intellectuall part is full of blindneſſe, darknes, ſimplicitie & groſſe ignorance, yea palpable groſſe thick darkneſſe, that may be felt, yea wilfull blindneſſe: knowing nothing in any diſtinct manner of God, or of goodnes, of vertue, or themſelves,

ſelves, but yet ſtrongly perſwaded and conceited in the imagination of their own evill heart (formerly deſcribed) of their owne wiſdome, goodneſſe, and vertue: And for the proofe of this, witneſſe all their Pamphlets, all their diſcourſes, all their raillings, curſings and ſlanders, from day to day. Their Pamphlets, filld with nothing but prophane, fooliſh, uncleane words and expreſſions, there being nothing ſubſtantiall or wiſe according to truth in them: Their diſcourſes being irrationall, ſimple, ſhallow, blind, yea ſottiſhly ignorant, profeſſing themſelves wiſe, and yet knowing nothing (at leaſt wiſe as they ought to know) as the Wiſe man in the *Proverbs* 28 *Chap.* 5. *ver.* proves in theſe words; *Evill men underſtand not judgement, but they that ſeeke the Lord underſtand all things*: They are fooliſhly and wickedly ignorant: They in their diſcourſes brag of learning, parts, wits, knowledge, but they are ignorant and underſtand not Religion, vertue, manners: It hath been as often proved as there be houres in the day, minutes in each houre: That theſe *Roundheads* (according to the former deſcription, who are the *Roundheads* indeed in *rerum natura*) when they have been in diſpute and reaſoning with thoſe whom they and their proſelytes formerly falſly called by the name of *Roundheads*, who are indeed thoſe whom the Wiſe man in the place aforecited, called *Seekers of God*, and who underſtand all things: I ſay, they have not been able to make a rationall or true anſwer to Queſtions demanded them, nor defend any argument of their owne from being torne in pieces, or vaniſhing into ſmoake and ayre; but they have been forced like *Ignoramus* himſelfe, to hold their peace and learne wit: or if ſhame and diſgrace troubled them, then when they wanted wit to make a rationall anſwer, then to be ſure their graceleſſe hearts and tongues did not want curſes, lyes, oaths, ſlanders and railing.

3. For his body, both integralls and excrementalls, ſee the cauſes producing a *Roundhead*:

He is one whoſe head and braines is elevated with Sack, ſtrong drink, and Tobacco, whoſe eyes are full of adultery, his face with patches and plaiſters, or ſome of his Ladies favour-ſpotts: his whole body is embalmed to preſerve his rotten carkaſe from offending the noſtrills of his friends and companions; or elſe his face is full of skarrs, cuts and wounds, in quarrells with brothers of his owne Tribe, when they cannot agree in ſwearing and lying.

His noſe it not falne downe flat dead on his face already, yet it is to be feared, it cannot ſtand upright long.

His tongue may be compared to the Devill, yea hell it ſelfe, breathing forth

forth nothing but oaths, curſes, railings, bawdry every moment.

His hands and feet ever in one quarrell or other, or employed in ſome brothell-houſe in the luſtfull embraces and helliſh claſpings of ſome of his filthy and uncleane Miſtreſſes, and whoriſh Ladies, till he returnes home lame full of the heavy diſeaſe by the vulgar ſort called the Poxe. And thus you have the Integralls of this *Roundhead* deſcribed, from the particular cauſes producing a *Roundhead*, which in plaine termes and few words is this: The evill heart & manners of theſe men bring them to the Poxe, the Poxe eates of their naturall haire, and ſo they become *Roundheads*.

And thus went the haire away, the Gentleman becomes bald, his witts here going firſt away, and a very little returning to him (upon the cure in part wrought) he conſults with the artificialiſts and excrementalliſts of the time, that he may bring up a new faſhion to make Perriwigd Gentlemen.

And ſo we paſſe to the untying of the third knot, which is,

3. The reall properties and peculiarities of a *Roundhead*, whereby he may be notoriouſly knowne and ſeene by any judicious obſervant eye.

And theſe properties are not a few, but ſo many as we ſhall really collect and compriſe within the compaſſe of this ſhort Diſcourſe, we ſhall endeavour to give the world information of.

The Gentleman *Roundhead* being now created and formed by thoſe former producing cauſes; now you ſhall ſee him faſhioned in all his excrementall perfections.

The which, I will compriſe under theſe five heads, and ſo finiſh the Diſcourſe.

He may be deſcribed
1. By his cloathing.
2. By his poſture.
3. By his diſcourſe or language.
4. By his aſſociates, and his baſtard brood.
5. By his actions.

Firſt, for his clothing, a ſingular property, he loves rich clothing, and borrowes of all Nations a ſeverall dreſſe & attire, he hath infinite mind for change of rayment, as the haires of his Perriwig be infinite and paſt numbering.

Therefore we muſt begin to reckon from the firſt artificiall haire in his Perriwig, to the laſt artificiall ſtitch in the ſoale of his Bootes: hold, hold, what have we ſaid, we muſt begin there, we muſt give our ſelves

ſelves a juſt correction, we doe take a cubit from his ſtature at leaſt, and detract from one of his greateſt perfections, by making a dwarfe of a proper Gentleman. And our miſtake would have been ſo groſſe, (if we had not ſpeedily collected and corrected our thoughts) as to have undertaken to have given the deſcription of the height of *Pauls* onely by relating the height of the Church, when wee ſhould deſcribe the height of *Pauls* by the Steeple: But having timely corrected our thoughts wee ſhall endeavour to begin at the height and top of this Roundheaded Gentlemans perfection: (Onely a little by the way obſerve it as one of his chiefeſt properties, that he loves and prides to be clothed with the neweſt faſhion. And therefore he is full of invention, and his thoughts multiplicious and fruitfull, how he may have change of attire and faſhion: yea rather then he will want any one faſhion, he will ſo contrive by the advice of his grand and little and nimble councell, the profeſſors of the croſſeleged art, who are very dexterous in the compoſure of all faſhions contracted and united in one, that this *Roundhead* being clothed in his new trappings, he is made the repreſentative body of all kindreds, tongues, and nations, his *Roundhead* confining his braines in ſuch a circle, that they run round about the Globed Center for every new ſtrange faſhion.)

Firſt therefore for his hatt, it is faſhioned like the blocke on which it was ſquared, being flat crowned, and not made fit to his head, but to his Perriwigg, and therefore it ſets to his Perriwigg as looſe, as his Perriwigg to his bald pate, (unleſſe it be tyed) ready to fall off to the right hand or to the left, to ſalute his brother *Roundhead* when he meets him: And wee know the reaſon of this faſhion, becauſe theſe Gallants deſire and love to have their witts and heads at libertie, and cannot endure to have their braines bound too faſt, or confined in their noddles.

Next, their hatt is narrow-brimd, & they have a good reaſon for that, for whereas the ignorant ſort object againſt it, as unprofitable, yea prejudiciall, for it expoſes their bodies to the weather. They give a ſudden anſwer to this Objection, and prove the contrary, That a good buſh doth ſhelter them better from the weather, with which they are largely furniſhed. But that we may not forget to hang forth our Colours on the Flag-ſtaffe before we come downe from the maine top, we muſt therefore ſet out a very faire feather, tyed faſt with Ribbins of all colours in the Rainebow. He is no true Gentleman without a feather in his cap, and he is no man of warre without his colours. Therefore that

he may have and claime the propertie both of Souldier and Gentleman, he will be well feathered.

And yet
What is lighter then a feather?
What is heavier then Leade?
A braineles Perriwigged Cavalier,
That is a true Roundhead.

For his Perriwigg the chiefest jewell about him, being artificially woven and bound together, strongly perfumed, a right colour to a haire it is, which he borrowes from severall dead men and women, a haire from one, and a haire from a second, and so forward, that he is exceedingly ingaged to them for every haire of his head. As for the rest of his clothing downwards, To wit, his Band with buttons and loopes under his chin, to the confusion of all Band-string-makers, with his short wasted dublet, long sword, and long breeches, short bootes and thundering spurres, being all composed according to the Rules of art and reason, for every stitch of him: The particulars of the rest all, would be too tedious and prolixe for this short Discourse, and therefore is purposely omitted at present: Because wee desire to proceed to the next property of this *Roundhead*.

2. By his Posture: An admirable posture he hath, he always instead of standing in a posture of defence, is ever in a posture of offence, he barkes and bites, and snaps every one that comes neere him, that are not of his owne constitution. His very lookes strike fooles with terrour and amazement, his patches and sports on his face, are the ensigne that he is a Souldier and a man of offence every inch and stitch of him: His lookes are so big and terrible, having such a Majesty in them as is able to make children run away, as if some strange apparition appeared to them of *Jack a Dandy*, or as if some Bullbeggar, or Buggbeare were readie to eate them up: And indeed their long Perriwigs are like so many vissards of ugly shapes and representations, to skare and fright children and fooles into good manners: And is not this now a singular propertie and vertue in them, that they are able by the very Majestie and dreadfulnesse of their aspect, to worke such cures as that children and fooles should stand in feare of them, and be ruled and skared into wit and manners. For their valour and magnanimitie of spirit, it is beyond expression, for upon the least motion of their head and eyes, they

in their imagination apprehend that they drive the whole world before them.

The posture of his head, according to the rules of art, knowes both his motion in all its severalls, and the time thereof, for the most part moving it very stately, deceiving the world thereby with a perswasion that he is as wise and stately as some of the Lord Majors of *London*, but to be sure as wise & stately as some of your potentiall Aldermen in their foot motion through the Citie, or when they sit in their Court at *Guild-hall*. And likewise that they have as much Majesty, learning, gravitie, justice, as is in the smooth-chind Judges in Terme time in *Westminster Hall*. But how infinitely these graceles fellowes fall short of these honourable mens perfections, let the Citie of *London* judge for the one, and the Plaintiffes and Defendants for the other. For the humilitie of their bodies they excell the whole world, being full of courteous embraces and Court-salutations, their hands and feete ready servants to them at their first command, to act the reall dissimulation of their hearts to every one they meet with, what an infinite number of complements and salutes, doe all the rest of their brother *Roundheads* meet with in a day from these artificiall *Roundheads*. They seldome fight, except they be drunke, and then they are mad-men, nothing can appease them, but then all bloud and wounds one towards another: They are as swift in the motion of their feete, as the Beares that are led muzzelled through the Citie, their leggs being so packt up in their great boots, and they forced to straddle in their steps, and walke gingerly; because all is not well with them in their breeches.

2. For their discourse and language, which is their third properties among their owne Tribe, nothing but all manner of prophane and filthy language of whores and drinke, mixt with a thousand oaths and lyes, to make themselves merry, like fooles, who make a sport of sinne: And if not in this discourse, then they are relating of some false report of the innocent, and such as feare an oath, or else railing and cursing all such as doe not observe and follow their humours in their ignorance, prophanenesse and basenesse.

3. For their associates, or bastard brood. Their associates are even their fellow-*Roundheads*, who are of the same constitution and follow them in all their humours and wicked nesse: Or else all ignorant prophane and senceless doulteads, that know not their right hand from their left in any thing that is good and religious, such whom wee call their bastards, they are so like them in conditions and manners: who

although

although they are not of the Gentile sort of *Roundheads*, and so not Periwigged and accoutred in their trappings, like these *Roundheaded* Gallants, yet for conditions and manners they are the naturall fooles of artificiall fooles; for prophanenesse, simplicitie, ignorance, and evill manners, they may be very well termed naturall *Roundheads*. Such who are the braineles generation of ignorant persons, That beleeves as the Church beleeves, and will raile against and curse that and those which they understand not nor know not. It being ever the propertie of prophane fooles to speake evill of that which is good, and of them that professe goodnesse, through their monstrous ignorance: And they are driven like calves by every asse to the shambles of their owne destruction.

5. Their actions is the next propertie, and these are infinite in number, and all evill like themselves, they are full of all manner of iniquities without measure themselves, and they act all manner of iniquities

Against { God, goodnesse, Religion, and manners.
Their King and Country in generall.
The true worshippers and fearers of God.

First, against God himselfe, continually in rebellion against him, yea open manifest rebellion, refusing to be ruled and governed by his holy Law, or to beleeve his heavenly Gospell, but despising the one and slighting the other, doe give themselves up to all manner of licentiousnesse, committing iniquitie with greedinesse, by their prophanenesse, oaths, uncleanenesse, &c. Against goodnesse, ever railing, hating, mocking at goodnesse, preciseneesse, or holinesse: Against Religion, Therefore are they so zealous for all false impure, mixed, popish worship and ceremonies (As for the Common Prayer Booke, which is a thing first invented and composed by the enemy of God, and of Christ, To wit, Antichrist the Pope being extracted out of the Masse Booke, a meete compound of errours, confusion, additions, and substractions to and from the Scriptures, mans invention, and yet this offered to God as his worship, against his expresse command, That whosoever adds to his Word or takes from it, shall have his name blotted out of the booke of life: And that it is a vaine worship of God to worship him after, or by the traditions of men, against his expresse will, who will have his worship both for matter and manner pure, without mixture, spirituall without earthly invention of corrupt [illegible]

set downe his whole mind and will, how he will be worshipped and in what manner in his Word and Testament. But a reason may be given why they are so zealous for their ignorant devotion in the Common-Prayer-book is, because they are furnished from the *Letany* with oaths; as, *by thy wounds and blood, by thy agony, by thy death*: And from the *Apocrypha* Chapters in the *Service-booke* with lyes: so they learne to sweare and lye, for not any of them are converted to leave off sweating and lying, but they are nourished and strengthened in their ignorance and superstition and prophanenesse by it:) and so for Bishops, Altars, Crosses, and what not. Against all good manners and honest conversation, by their riotous, drunken, and prophane actions.

Secondly, They are against the King and Countrey in generall. The onely disturbers, traytors, and rebels in the State, sowing discord and division in the hearts of all they can infect with their traytorous counsells, possessing the King with evill thoughts of the Parliament, practising daily mischiefe against the honest and faithfull and loyall endeavours of this ever honoured & religious Parliament; but great hope is, their mischiefe shall returne upon their owne pate, by the wisdome and innocency, and integritie of that gracious Assembly.

Thirdly, Against the true worshippers and fearers of God, by malicious lyes and slanders of them, terming them fooles, *Roundheads*, Preachers in tubbs, and by their execrations and curses of them: But the curse that is causelesse shall not come, nor the termes that are groundlesse shall not remaine upon good men: But shall returne upon the pates of the first inventers. And thus you have the *Roundheads* description of the *Roundheads* fully Anatomized.

FINIS.

A

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A Lanthorn and Candle light, to see this darke (and black) *Emblem by.*

See Reader by this figure what thou art,
And let thy inward thoughts dictate to thee,
Whether this hellish Chair be not thy heart,
Where *Pluto* sits (and rules) if so it bee,
(For Heavens love) take this advice of mee,
Arme thee with grace; throw Satan out o'th Chayre,
Put *Christ* in's place, who quells the Prince o'th Ayre.

9

NEWES FROM AVERNVS.

BEING

Certaine Propositions and Promises made

BY

Don *Belzebub* (alias *Pluto*) Emperor of *Gehynon*, King of *Sheol*, *Tophet* and *Avernut*, Prince of *Phlegiton*, *Styx*, and *Acheron*, Duke of *Aetna*, *Stumbello*, and *Mongebello*, &c.

To his sable Courtiers, inviting (and exciting them) by ample rewards to the propagation (and increase of his Diabolicall Empire.

Taken notice of by *Mark Parinter*. Pseud?

LONDON,
Printed by *John Hammond*, 1642.

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To his fable Courtiers, inviting (and exciting them) by ample rewards to the propagation and increase of his Diabolicall Empire.

Taken notice of by Mark Parinter.

LONDON,
Printed by John Hammond, 1699.

An Exordium (or premonitory) Epistle to the Prudent Christian.

READER,

I Confesse thou maist wonder at my formidable Frontispiece, or terrible title, which may (perhaps) squeese from thee some conjecture contrary to verity, or my expectation, as that the worke containes more spight or vanity, then wit or Christianity, but take this for thy learning (beforehand) that if thy judgement wrest from thee such an uncharitable Censure, thou thy selfe art guilty of what thou judgest; for by this Diabolicall doalect, I endeavour to teach thee (according to my ability) thy christian duty to God and thy Neighbour, vices being exposed, make the vitious actors of them ashamed (if they be not past shame) and the honest and vertuous livers more confidently animated to prosecute their pious intentions: the antient enemie of man-kind (by divine appellation) to said (sometimes) to assume the place of an Angel of light, thereby (with counterfeit Coyne) to deceive the minds of self-willed Christians (in name) that with the more fallity hee may interlace the hearts of them whose consoperated opinions renders him their greatest Antagonist (I meane in their owne conceptions) Though they be inwardly his most endeared friends and whom he may most easily possesse with a vaine shadow of justice, as by imagining themselves to be the servants of the God of heaven, when (indeed the more is the pittie) they are (by sunh sinister practices, which they follow) even slaves to (him) the Devill of hell: whose subtill stratagems, and damnable devices (to game the soules of self-conceited, and presumptious worldlings) thou art good Prudent, and Christian READER, preadmonished by thy soules health wishing friend,

Mark Parinter.

The Argument of the ensuing TREATISE.

The infernall King sitting in't Fiery Chaire,
VVith Luciferian pride doth summon all
His fiends, from fire, water, earth, and Ayre,
VVhich being come, he them to 'comps doth call,
How each hath spent his time, soules to inthrowde,
Tells them in what professions he's best pleas'd,
And by what meant his Kingdom is increas'd.

Newes from Avernus.

COme hither all you my beloved, Black, Blew, Yellow, Greene, Grey, Russet, and Orange-tawny Boyes, Fiends of all sorts, sizes, and ages, from 3000. yeeres standing, to little two yeere old Devils; you my constant Collegiats of this Infernall Universitie, you my trusty Agents, who negotiate for me in the Terrestreall Globe, to the inriching of my Kingdome, the increasing of my subiects, and the augmentation of my glory (briefly) you, I say, who as my nimble servants sometimes by visible, but most commonly by invisible means, do attend those who are appointed for a portion of my inheritance in the world, least at any time (through want of quotidiall (nay rather horall) solicitations and attendance) they should be snatched out of my potent pawes: 'Tis true (my trusty Rogers) I have no great cause (I confesse) to question your sedulity nor vigilancie (I meane in generall) yet let me tell you (my good friends) there are some of you in particular, whose sloth is now of late dayes highly reprehensible, how else hath it come to passe, that the Sun-day is so devoutly observed, drunkennesse in the time of Divine Service so Circumspectly avoided, how comes so much fasting and praying, suppression of Monopolists and Patentees;

and

and divers other abuſes reformed (eſpecially in the Kingdome of *England*, whence (I ſay) proceeds all this, but through your tardineſſe and negligence: but let that paſſe, I will not exaſperate my paſſion over-much, nor extenuate your diligence beyond deſert, but having a little reprehended what is amiſſe in you, I now purpoſe to render (to your worthy praiſe and my great glory and comfort) an account of (and thanks for) the good ſervices that of late yeeres you have done to the propagation and elevation of vice the extenuation and (almoſt) extirpation of vertue in the Kingdome of *England* (aforeſaid) wiſhing, exhorting, charging, and commanding you and every one of you (as you tender my love) or feare my diſpleaſure, or wiſh the enlargement and expanſion of this my diabollicall Monarchy) to proſecute (to your utmoſt endevours, and with the moſt exact care and diligence that you poſſibly may) the courſes that you have ſo auſpitiouſly begun: for the furtherance whereof (and that you may with more alacrity and facility execute my deſignes) I will demonſtrate unto you in what profeſſions I am moſt effectually & punctually plaſſed, and by what men and meanes my Empire is expanded; Then prick up your eares, and liſten (with attention) to the works of the Devill: for you muſt take eſpeciall care in a matter of ſuch high conſequence, that all things conduceable to this deſigned worke, be done with a plauſible deportment, that as poyſon may (and is oftentimes) ſweetned with hony (or ſugar) to make it be diliciouſly ſwallowed, ſo temptations of this nature (which filleth this vaſt Infernal Kingdom) muſt

be

be sweetned with promises (nay commonly with performances) of worldly wealth, honour, fame, dignitie, and reputation, as for example, the drunkard must be stil'd a Good fellow, a Boon companion, a sound Trout, a notable blade, nay, as honest a man as ever pist with, &c. or as trode upon a shoe of leather (a large Encomium) for it seems the Saints never troad upon any. The libidenous Lecher must not want his titles, for hee, though he have no Gentry hereditary, nor dares adventure to get any in the field of *Mars*, yet (with a pox to him) betwixt *Venus* and *Cornelius* (not *Cornelius Agrippa*) he shall get enough to make him a Gentleman at three skirmishes, and Mr. *Present-time* (the Herald) shall justifie it. The covetous caitiffe that most damnable Idolater, who adores Crosses and Images) must be counted a very good Husband (though his wife say noe such matter) a thriving man that by his pinching parsimony, and trucelent oppression of the poore, he shall get (besides the little of a rich man) the Devill and all. But it were a Labour endles to tell you in particular what your selves know (so well as I) in generall there be damnable sinners of all professions sorts, sizes, sects and ages, unlesse it be little children, whereof (to my great griefe) too many dye, before they be capable of deadly sines so yet I am deprived of millions that way. Therefore it behoves you my boon associats my Impassible postillions, my Machevillian messengers and *Avernian* Embassadors, to be the more sedulous & diligent among those of ripe age, let them not passe (at the most) eight years of age before they being instructed to Sweare, curse, lie, [illegible] the

name of God, ſing bawdy ſongs pilpher ſmall trifles as farthings or pence, from there parents, to buy pares; aples, or plumbs, theſe are good beginnings (my lads) & being ends according to my owne deſire; when they come to exceed twelve, then is high time to teach them to frequent Play-houſes, Taverns, Ale-houſes, and (though their abillities yet permit them not) let them for the more ſpeedy enableing themſelves, frequent bawdy-houſes, and be ſure doe not forget to teach them (in their child-hood) to play at dice and cards, though at firſt but for fardings, yet from this ſmall beginning when they come to maturity of age, they will exceed from farthings to pene, from pene, to ſhillings; from ſhillings, to Crownes, from crownes to pounds, and ſo upwards according to our Diobollicall arithmeticke, untill they come to poverty, from thence, to robbing (or ſtealing) and conſequently, &c. For the Female ſex, let them not arive to 15. at the moſt, before they be endoctrinated in all the poſtures of pride and novelitie in faſhion, teach them to curle (and lay out) their haire, expoſe their naked breſts, &c. that by theſe externall deportments, their internall intentions may bee knowne; but above all things be not negligent in following your buuſineſſe cloſe in every ſeaſon, untill the harveſt (of reward) become, you have ſowne ſeeds of diſſention, ſects and ſchiſmes are plentifully ſpread, and will, undoubtedly) yeeld an infinite crop; O how happy hath it been for my traffick, ſince the firſt Authors of theſe damnable Hereſies were, ſeverally, ſuggeſted by me and you, every one of them to invent, and teach, an opinion according

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cording to his, nay to her, owne fancy; these Cards Dewell shuffel'd, my boyes, play on boldly, in the Devils name, if we winne not Millions of soules at this game, let's burne the cards, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, I shall take up an unlimmitted laughter, if I don't recall my selfe in time; For indeed, how can I otherwise chuse; alas you know, my deerest, that heretofore wee have laid many yeeres to one soule, and yet at the last have lost both it, our time and labour, and come home quite vanquish't without it, but, now, ha, ha, ha, they come in tumbling, and crowding, without any paines taking ha, ha, ha, I can now sit snorting in my Chaire, and have my work done ready to my hand, according to my owne desire, or heart could wish; the twiggs being well limed at th' first, hath saved labour ever since, for they poore souls are so blinded and lull'd asleep with that somniferous potion of selfe-conceited sanctitie, and puritie, that they thinke themselues true to my enemie, and enemie to me; but in this they please me exceedingly, let them run on in their erronious conceipts, and thinke so still, they shall never be hindred, but rather furthered, by me, but my feare is, if your care be not us'd to the extremity of diligence, that they will smell it out of themselves; looke too't, I charge you, for they know that a Kingdome divided within it self, cannot stand, nor a house divided escape inevitable ruine; therefore to prevent this smelling, for they have commonly good noses, propose unto them hot Capons, Shoulders of Mutton, Pullets in white broath, collops and eggs, eat even (and most especially on that day which most torments mee)

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Good-fridey, possesse them severally with strong delusions of self-conceited sanctitie, that every man may say (or at the least thinke so) to his Neighbour, Stand further off, come not neere me, for I am holyer then thou, *volens tangere*, thou profane and wicked man, let them be perseverent in this, and then sleeping and waking, all's mine, quoth the Devill, so sure as God's in heaven, their pride (as mine did at first) will cast them headlong into hell, & now it comes into my mind) I conjure you all to be mindful of my very good friends, & servants, composers and publishers of these lying and scandalous Pamphlets, which daily are carried and spread about, sometimes to the disgrace of them that hate me to the death; & tell those my trusty factors, that I will at no time be forgetful of their care and diligence to the increase of so many notable vices, which advance my state, as lying, slandering, envie, detraction & blasphemy, all damnable sins, and seriously prohibited by Almighty God, my immortall enemie, I know, and you know, that by these only means, many Millions of souls come daily to my kingdome, therefore it behoves you to be exceeding forward in a matter of such deep importance, and to be extreame solicitous to preoccupate (so far as possibly you may) the suppression and prohibition of this numerous rabble of pestiferous pamphlets, and Pamphlitets by the sublime authoritie of the Parliament, for if that should come to passe, through want of vigilancy, my Empire would loose a great part of it's propagation, and I of my glory. But I hope you will at no time be taken tardy in these affaires, which is no hard task to effect, fry-

ing that the profession, though base, propounds unto them both profit and pleasure, without much paine-taking, enough said of that, now I'le proceed to other particulars, which may fortifie your memories, when you have occasion to use them in the world in severall wayes, as I shall endoctrinate you, first I tell you, my subtill substitutes, that I finde great utility and comfort by the quotidian resort of Whores, Baudes, pick-pockets, Cheaters, &c. to stage-playes, seek to set that forward: secondly I have great gaine from these places called Bawdy-houses, therefore be serious and urgent in your promising ample rewards to the dooers & sufferers of the premises, let the panders be petulent, the Baudes impudent, the whores arrogant, and the Officers superindulgent, &c. Thirdly bee pressive to further (through hope of gaine) that hipocriticall secret fraud in shopkeepers, hidden under Yea, and Nay, verily, and truely, &c. with their dark shops, false weights, measures and Wares, to the inritching of themselves for a time, and me to eternitie: and fourthly, doe not forget to encourage those damnable Damma blades in the Damming, sincking, perishing, and renouncing, tell them that all shall be punctually perform'd on Gods part and mine: for hee will certainly by these provocations, and invitations, damne, sinck, perish, and renounce their souls, then what followes, but that 'tis my part to take them (according to their customary wish, The Devill take me) and so undoubtedly, I will. For while they seek to dissect (or anatomize) God with their imprecations and oathes, as heart, wounds and blood, be you ready, and diligent, upon his inst expectation of them, as instly, to seale them for me. And, now I shall it to minde, let me remember you of one especial innovation in trading, introduc'd through the gradation of time, in England, chiefly in, and adjacent to, the Cities of London and Westminster, to the ample

encrease of bestial ebriety, which is the source, or well-spring of almost all other most damnable sins and impieties, therefore be sure to assist with your especiall care, and diligence the proadintors, or *primo parens* of this horrible sinne of drunkennesse; and those be the Brewers of this exorbitant and Circean liquor called 14. Shillings Ale: these are the true foster-fathers of this execrable vice, and deserve especiall notise, praise, thanks (and reward) for their service, most of them professe themselves very precise, I professe, indeed, and in truth, and unlesse it be in private among the brethren or sisters, those that abhorre the most abominable sin of drunkennesse, but as the proverbe sayes, If there were no receivers there would be no theeves; and consequently, if no thieves no receivers; so that these blinding Ale-brewers are the principall (and originall) cause of so many lawlesse blinde Ale-houses (as wee call them) that under the pretence of keeping Tobacco-shops (whom I can never praise enough) presume (and that without any iust license from the Iustice) to draw and sell with (bellish) black pots, this diabolicall drink after the rate of 2d. a pint, neither must I forget to extol the service of those (wilfully) blind Beadles, whose eyes being shadowed with two Sillings by the quarter, will winke at at (these great, under the name of) small faults; so let them do still, and want no annimation thereunto, for by this means they doe in an open rebellious way, against the laws of God and King, in stead of fasting & praying (which pleaseth God too much for my profit) use all possible wayes and means for the encrease of Drunkenesse and many other most abhominable vices which bring some to beggery, others to stealing, and so make work for the Beadle, and the Hang-man, Gramercy fourteen shilling Ale-brewer for (the most part of all) this, besides their constantly working on the Sabbaoth day (I mean, their sen-

ments) about this unnecessary (and unconscionable) and to augment their gaines (and their sinnes) it is so bumbasted vest in the tunning, that being setled, and fit to drinke (which to say truth, it never is) the Victulers have (oftentimes) but 27. Gallons for a barrell, it is so jumbled and sophisticated, that beyond the height of wholsome nourishment, inflaming and intoxicating the braines of poore labouring people, spending their time and means, at this Acherontick Ale, while their wives, children and families want bread at home, whereby the number of poore doth increase, which is, both to them, and to me, advantagious; for the poorer sort are their chiefe and most constant customers in this damnable course of trading, for the drinking of their fulsome and spongious Ale; and thus having full proofe of their trusty service to me, and the amplitude and increase of so many other (by their means) I would have you to promise them (and I will performe it) some especiall place in Hell (a great preferrment) above other petty offenders; encourage them closely to *Buckle* to their businesse, so as the *Center* of the work may yeeld forth *Share* of their damnable endeavours: and exhort them to bee confident, that with a Dash to beare the Bell (over) the way it may passe for Fourteen shillings the Barrell, at *Chequer* pay; but I know no reason why there should not be *Crowne* Ale, as well as *Crowne* sope: no, no, I am mistaken, let them still continue their brewing Strong, High and mighty Ale, that may sparkle so proudly, as *Guy* of Warwicke; nay, let it be so strong and heady, that Iakes-Farmers, Fish-wives Coblers, Chimney-sweepers, Rag-gatherers and Tinkers; may be merry, and sing bawdy and drunken catches, and especially, forget not lying Tales, and the continuall Brawlings of this tatterd regiment, let the burthen of all their Songs be sung to this Tune (by all these Ale-bibbers) Strong Ale is

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meat drinke and cloth, so likewise let them stand to it, that to hold such Pot-companions in union, it may be compared to *Buckle* and thong; even in despight of our potent adversary, who commends, and onely brewes Ten shillings Ale, and will *Byde* by't: and be sure to take these instructions along with you, for the encouraging all those my constant servants, that for the better, and more credible prosecution of their most damnable course, let them practise by meanes so to insinuate with men in place of Authoritie, that both of them (the Brewer and the victuler) may beare some Office for maintenance of civill government in the Parish (where they dwell) that so they may be the better enabled, for their owne private gaines, to connive at sinne and wickednesse; and so anticipate the legall proceedings against their hellish conversations herein; and not to doubt, but that though their educations afford them neither writing nor reading, yet, if they can doe by my instructions aforesaid, they may be called to be under (if not capital) Constables to execute the Offices of religious honest men, that so by their Authoritie in those places, they may mightily encrease my Empire; I could dictate many other advices; but I know that few words may suffice to instruct the wise, therefore Ile say no more to you at this time, least I should be tedious: But goe on in the Devills name, and bid them (as the Familist saith) Increase and multiply, *Vale.*

The Proscript.

Courteous Reader, Having shewne by this figure the Diabolical intentions, and inveterate malice of the Common Enemy to Mankind (the Devill) Let us crave aide of Almighty God, that by the assistance of his grace, we may escape all his fiery darts, and prevaile against the gates of Hell; love vertue, hate vice, serve God, in despite oth' Devill.

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Newes from Holland:

OF THE ENTERTAINMENT OF THE QUEENES Most Excellent MAIESTIE OF GREAT BRITAINE,

Henrietta Maria.

THE Young Princesse *MARIE*, THE Prince and Princesse of ORANGE,

WITH

The young Prince their Sonne, and most part of the Nobility at *Amsterdam*; Invited thither by the Lords Estates of that City: Where in a Barge they were conveyed into the City by divers living Swans fastned to her Barge; With divers Triumphs both by water and land.

ALSO

Divers other remarkable passages from *Lipsich*, *Erford*, *Collen*, *Wessell*, and divers other places.

LONDON,
Printed for *Ed. Blackmore*, *May* the 20th. 1642.

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OF THE

ENTERTAINMENT

OF THE

QUEENES

Most Excellent MAJESTIE

OF

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Collen, *Wessell*, and divers other places.

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Printed for *Ed. Blackmore*, *Ursay* the 20th. 1642.

Newes from Holland,

OF THE

Entertainment of

THE

QVEENES

most excellent

MAIESTIE

OF

GREAT BRITAINE.

From the Hague, May 20. 10. 1642.

UPon munday the 19. 9. of *May*, the Queenes most excellent Majesty of great Britaine, the young Princesse *Mary*, the Prince and Princesse of *Orange*, with the young Prince their Sonne, and most part of the Nobility in the *Hague* went

went to *Amsterdam*; being invited by the Lords Estates of that City: where by their appointment upon her arrivall, there met her upon the water a most rich and costly Barge, in which her Majesty being entred, without help of Oares or Sailes shee was conveyed into the City by divers living Swans which were fastned to the foresaid Barge; and as she passed along, was entertained with divers triumphs upon the water: Likewise when she landed, as shee passed the streets, divers Pageants and other Showes did present themselves unto her, which for cost and magnificence, the like was never seene in *Holland* before.

Thursday the 27. of *May*, the Prince of *Orange* intends to go into the field with all his Forces: The report goes, hee resolves to besiege the City of *Gelders*, but as yet the certainty of it is not known, though the speech of most is to that effect, the rather because hee may bee neere unto the *French* and *Weymarish* Army, that now lies quartered in the Bishoprick of *Colen*; so that being neere one unto the other, they may receive the speedier help one from another if occasion should serve.

Leipsich 24. April. 4. May.

TOrstenson hath sent word to the Peers of upper *Lusatia*, desiring them to provide necessaries for his Army; which if they refuse to doe, hee threatneth to use them as enemies. The 29. of *April*, he broke up with his whole army from *Spremberg*, and advanced toward *Sorow*, afterward hee went to besiege great *Glogow*, he hath in his Army 4000 dismounted horsemen. The foure *Saxons* Companies of Dragoners, and three Companies of horse, that lay in *Guben*, were forced to take pay under the *Swedi*. The Imperiall Cavalery, marcheth from all places towards *Sitessa* to the Duke of *Saxen Lawenburg*. And at *Anslow* a Dyet is summoned; and the sixth man of the Inhabitants is raised to oppose the *Swedish*.

Leipsich 26. April. 6 May.

The 19. 29. *April*, the City of *Guben* after two dayes siege was surrendred upon composition to Generall *Torstenson*; who hath kept rendevouz at *Spottaw*, and found his Army compleat 20000. strong. The Castle of *Sagon* is left by the Imperialists; *Sorow*, *Colaw*, and other places have yeelded to the *Swedi*. The *Swedish* parties straggle to the very Gates of *Brandz*, now they batter the Castle of *Sonnenwald*. *Torstenson* hath his Quarter now at *Sternberg*: Generall Major *Stolhans* hath mustred at *Crossen* 8000 men. The Imperiall and *Saxon* souldiers runne in great number to the *Swedish*.

Erford. 11. 1.

Our Governour Colonell *Goldstein* having heard that the Imperiall Colonell *Wolfromsdrof* and Colonell *Croft* with their two Regiments of horse lay in *Ruttelstad*, he commanded Colonell Lieutenant *Linden* with 400 Musquetiers and all the horsemen thither, which arrived there about four of the clock in the morning, and found the Imperialists in alarum; *Wolffromsdrof* fought stoutly, but at last our Musquetiers forced him to retire, and left his Lady prisoner, from whom Colonell *Linden* took 8000 rich dollers, store of Plate and costly clothes, and so sent her away: in this action our men put to the sword fifty horsemen, took thirty Prisoners, with all their baggage and five hundred horse, which they brought hither. The Magistrates and Townsmen of *Hildesheim* have agreed not to take in any Imperiall Garrison, therefore they are excluded from the concluded Treaty; and Duke *Ludwy* hath put more *Lunniburgish* Forces into it, and disarmed the Citizens.

Leipsich. 11. 1.

From *Dresden* and *Lubenhell* they write, that on Sunday last the *Swedish* took by assault the Abbey at great *Glogow*, and three houres after they took the City also, and put to the sword them which they found in armes, and took the rest, saving some Officers which retired into the Castle, but they are not able to keep it. In this City lay foure Regiments under Colonell *Barbaw*, and Colonell

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thenargen, in some thousand strong, three thousand whereof they put to the sword, one thousand they took; The *Swedish* got in it forty Canons, fourteene whereof are of Brasse, and got such store of provision in it, which might have served for a long time for the whole Imperiall Army. The *Swedish* parties straggle as farre as *Breslaw*; it is feared that they will master that Abbey too. Duke *Saxon Lawenburg* hath kept rendevouz betwixt *Munsterburg* and *Frankenstein*, and found his Army in sixteene thousand strong; as soone as the nine Imperiall Regiments are joyned with him, then he is to oppose the *Swedish*.

Collen 14. 4. *May*.

From *Frankford* they write, that after the *Bavarian* Forces have received some pay, and kept at *Dusspach* generall rendevouz, they received order to break up withall speed, and to succour the Elector of *Collen*, they are to take their quarters at *Mullem* and the next places to it, fully to consume there, what the *Hatsfeldian* have left.

Wesell 15. 5. *May*.

The City of *Lechinich* is quite burnd down, and the Governour retired into the Castle with five hundred men, which the *Weymarish* have: The Governour hath sent to his Elector, that he could hold it eight dayes longer, but if no succour did come in that time, then he will be forced to yeeld.

From *Holland* they write, that fifty Companies of Germans of the States Army are to joyn with the

the *Weymariſh*, whereof three Companies under the command of Colonell *Morton Van Ingham*, are gone already from *Emmerick* thither, and the reſt of the Companies have order to march with ſpeed to that Army. At *Vliſſingen* are arrived foure thouſand *French* ſouldiers comming from *Dieppe*, which are to joyn with the *Weymariſh*.

In *Holland* are arrived ſix ſhips from *Brazill* with three thouſand ſix hundred Cheſts of ſugar, with newes alſo, that the Portugall in the Bay keep good correſpondence with the *Hollanders* there.

The Queen of *England* was royally entertained at *Amſterdam* the 20. 10 of *May*. The Generall and Officers of the traine of the States Army, together with the Commiſſioners, are departed from the Prince of *Orange* with their Commiſſions to cauſe the garriſons to march, their rendevouz is at *Lit*, and the ſconce *Tervoren*.

From *Paris* they write, that *Guſtavus Horn*, and *Duc du Boulloin* are arrived at *Lions*, *Horn* goeth to the King, and *Duc du Boulloin* to his Army in *Piemont*, with *Don Franciſco della Marra* generall Paymaſter of the *Spaniſh* Army, who was taken priſoner in the laſt battel in *Catelonia*, where were found 6000. *Spaniſh* duplons, which were divided amongſt the *French* Souldiers.

Monſieur *du Hallier* hath order to recover thoſe places in *Lorrayn*, which the Duke of *Lorrayn* hath in poſſeſſion.

From *Antwerp*, Don *Franciſco du Melo* is ſaid to have beſieged *Arras*, and the *French* to have blockt up *Cambray*, but neither is believed.

FINIS.

A DECLARATION

from both Houses of *Parliament*, May. 17.

Hen. Elsing Cler. Parl.

With His

MAIESTIES

Letter to the Gentry of *Yorkshire*, *May* 16. 1642.

Also divers principall *Matters*

OF

GREAT NOTE

AND HIGH

CONSEQVENCE.

THE I.

Concerning the *Messengers* that were imployed to fetch up Sir *Francis Worsley*, and some other Gentlemen of the County of *Yorke*, as Delinquents.

The second, Concerning *Mr.* Attorney Generall who was released from his Imprisonment, giving Baile for his appearance.

The third, Concerning the Lord St. *John* and *Mr. Bivion*, with many more Remarkable Passages.

The fourth, Concerning Judge *Berkly*, and many other Delinquents.

Together with a List of the Irish Committee, for choosing of Officers.

Printed for I. Tomson, and A. Coe, 1642.

His Majesties Letter to the Gentry of *Yorkshire*, May, the sixteenth, 1642

To our right trusty and well beloved the Gentry of Yorke, and others of this our County of Yorke, whom it doth or may concern.

WE have with great contentment considered your dutifull and affectionate Answer to our Proposition concerning the unsufferable affront which we received at *Hull*; We have not bin deceived in that confidence we had in your affection, wherefore we desire you to assure the rest of your Countrymen, who through negligence were omitted to be summoned: that we shal never abuse your love by any power wherwith God shall enable us to the least violation of the least of your Liberties, or the diminution of those Immunities which we have granted you this Parliament, though they be beyond the Acts of most (if not all) Our Predecessors; being resolved with a constant and firm resolution to have the Law of this Land duely observed, and shall indeavour only so to preserve Our just Royall Rights, as may enable us to protect our Kingdome and people according to the ancient Honours of the Kings of *England*, and according to the trust which by the Law of God and this land is put into the Crown, being sufficiently warned by the late affront at *Hull*, not to transfer the same out of our power; concerning which Affront we will take some time to advise, which way we may usefully imploy your affections In the meane time we shall take it well from all such as shall personally attend us, *so followed and provided*, as they shall think fit for the better safety of our person, because wee know not what suddain violence, or affront may be offered unto us, having lately received such an actuall testimonie of Rebellious intentions, as Sir *John Hotham* hath expressed at *Hull*: Being thus secured by your affections and assistance, we promise you our protection against any contrary power whatsoever, and that you shall not be molested for your humble and modest Petition, as of late you have bin threatned.

Given at our Court at York, *May the* 18. 1642.

ORDERS FROM the HIGH COURT of PARLIAMENT.

ON the 9. Day of *May* in the morning upon the complaining of both Houses, the Messengers that were employed

ployed to fetch Sir *Francis Wortley*, and some other Gentry of the County of *York* as Delinquents) being returned, were sent up by the House of Commons to be examined before the Lords, where they made Affidavit that his Majesty (having read the Orders sent by the *Parliament* for the bringing up of the said Gentlemen) returned Answer by Secretary *Nicholas*, that neither any of his Servants in *Ordinary* (nor any of those Gentlemen) should attend the Parliament till he had Justice done him against Sir *John Hotham*.

Mr. Attorney Generall was released from his Imprisonment in the Fleet, giving bayl for his appearance.

Likewise, the Lord chief Justice *Banks* (being sent for by his Majesty, and having leave of the House) took his Journey towards *York*.

The Lords having some while considered many businesses concerning Judge *Berkly*, assented to the Commons

mons, that he ſhould come on Tueſday following; And Order not only iſſued to the Sheriffe of *London* (in whoſe Cuſtody he was) to prepare him for it: But the Kings Surveyor had Order to make proviſion in the Lords Houſe, by the rayling in ſome place for the Commons Houſe againſt that day.

The Lords upon motion made in their Houſe for the ſpeedy determination of the ſuit, depending betwixt the Lord St. *John*, and Mr. *Binion*, concerning ſome wrongs the ſaid Lord had ſuffered, iſſued an Order to the Lieutenant of the Tower (whither the ſaid *Binion* was committed upon his late Cenſure) not only to acquaint the ſaid *Binion* therwith, but to give him leave (with his Keeper) to go to his Councell, that he might be in readineſſe againſt the 21. of this moneth, the day appointed for hearing.

The

The Names of the Committee for the Irish affairs, for choosing of Officers.

Mr. *Samuell Rolles.*
Mr. *Whitlock.*
Mr. *Hollis.*
Sir *Martin Lumley.*
Sir *John Harrison.*
Sir *Arthur Hasterigg.*
Mr. *Brown.*
Mr. *Hambden.*
Mr. *Rolls.*
Mr. *Goodwyn.*
Mr. *Strowd.*
Sir *Thomas Barrington.*
Mr. *John Goodman.*
Sir *John Potts.*
Mr. *Vassale.*
Mr. *Shuttleworth.*
Sir *Edward Bainton.*
Mr. *Holland.*
Mr. *Walter Long.*
Mr. *Ironchard.*

Die

Die Martis 17. May, 1642.

WHereas the Lords in Parliament, have this day been informed, That the King is resolved to adjourn the next Term from *Westminster* to *York*: Upon which, The Lords sent a Committee to the Lord Keeper of the great Seal of *England*, to know of him, whether he had received any Command touching the same, who acquainted the said Committee, That he had received command from his Majesty, to issue Proclamations, & Writs, to that purpose.

Wherupon, this House taking the said matter into consideration, hath Voted: That the Kings removall of the Term to *York*, from *Westminster*, sitting this *Parliament*, is illegall.

And

And hath further Ordered, That the said Lord Keeper shall not issue out any Writs, or Seal any Proclamation, for adjourning the said next Term from *Westminster* to *York*, as aforesaid.

Joh. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

Die Martis 17. Maii, 1642.

THe Lordes and Commones in Parliament do declare, That it is against the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdome, that any of the subiects thereof should be commanded by the the King, to attend Him at His pleasure, but such as are bound thereto by speciall Service; And that whosoeuer upon pretence of His Majestis command shall take Armes, and gather together with others, in a Warlike manner, to the terror of the Kings People, shall be esteemed disturbers of the publike peace, and to do that which may introduce a president of very dangerous consequence for the future, and produce most mischievous effects for the present. Considering the greate distempers of the Kingdom, and what pernicious Counsellors, and Incendiaries, are now about the King, and how desperate and ill-affected divers persons, attending upon His Majestie, have shewed themselves to the Parliament, and to his other good Subjects, threatning & reproaching them publikely, even in his Majesties presence, and for preventing and avoiding such great mischiefs as may thereupon ensue,

It is Ordered and Ordained by both Houses of Parliament, That if the Trained-Bands, or any other His Majesties subjects, shall upon pretence of any such command be drawn together, and put into a posture of War, the Sheriffe of that County where there shall be such raising, or drawing together of Armed men, Do forthwith raise the power of the County to suppresse the same, and to keep his Majesties peace according to Law. And that the Lord Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, Justices of the Peace, and all other his Majesties Subjects, be aiding and assisting to the severall and respective Sheriffes in performance hereof, as they will answere the contrarye at their peril.

Hen. Elsing Cleric Parl. D. Com.

P E

T

And

12

TWO PETITIONS

FROM

The Countie Palatine of CHESTER,

And of the Inqueſts ſerving at the Aſſizes for the body of the ſaid Countie.

One preſented to his MAJESTIE at Yorke, the 7. of *May*.

The other to the Honourable Houſe of COMMONS, the 24. of *May*.

LONDON,
Printed by R. BADGER, for RICHARD LOWNDES, at his Shop next without Ludgate,
1642.

TWO

PETITION

FROM

The Countie Palatine of CHESEF,

And of the Inquests [illegible] of the said Countie.

One presented to his MAJESTIE at Yorke, the [illegible] day.

The other to the Honourable House of COMMONS, the 24. of [illegible] day.

LONDON,
Printed by R. BADGER, for RICHARD LOWNDS,
at his Shop next without Ludgate.
1642.

TO THE

Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſes, of the Commons Houſe in PARLIAMENT.

The Humble Petition of the Eſquires, Gentlemen, Miniſters, Freeholders, and other inhabitants within the Countie Palatine of Cheſter, whoſe names are ſubſcribed.

Humbly ſhewing,

THat your Petitioners having a long time groaned under the many and heavie preſures of this languiſhing State, eſpecially the exorbitant power of the Prelates, and their Courts, and continuall feare of inſurrection by blood-thirſty Papiſts, which might produce ſuch miſerable effects, and unheard of cruelties as have beene acted by them in the Kingdome of Ireland, doe with all thankfulneſſe to God, his Majeſtie and this Honourable

House acknowledge your indefatigable labours for the publike good, with the hazard of your lives, to your eternall honour, and your deep wisdomes in discovering to the whole Kingdome, the destructive diseases thereof with their originall progresse and cure in the late Remonstrance, (a lookingglasse for this age, and a full justification of your proceedings, in all succeeding generations) your happy successe of all indeavours, in dispelling the Northerne stormes, suppressing the Starrchamber, and high Commission Courts, easing of us of the burden of Ship-money, Monopolists, bridleing the unlimited power of the Prelates, and other Ecclesiasticall Consistories, depriving them of their votes in Parliament, where they were opposed to many good proceedings, notwithstanding a Petition in our Countreys name in defence of Bishops authoritie and their votes, presented by a too officious member thereof to the House of Peeres, to our great griefe, which Petition we utterly disclaime and protest against, your tender care for the Kingdome of Ireland, and vigilent providence for this Nation by ordering the Militia thereof, that we fall not into the same ruine by Papist and their partie, as Ireland hath done, all which you have effected (as the Israelites built the walls of Ierusalem) in troublesome times, yet being incouraged by the premisses and examples of other Countries we make bold further to supplicate this honourable Assembly for the perfecting of the Reformation of our Church already begun, the abandoning of that abominable Idoll of the Masse out of Court and Countrey, the maintaining and vindicating of the priviledges of Parliament, the removall of Popish lords out of the House of Peeres, that your wholesome counsels be not disappointed, the diminishing of the vast revenues, and power of the Bishops, who else may in time againe become as mis-

mischievous to the Church, as they have formerly been to the State, the removing of unprofitable Deanes and Chapters scandalous and insufficient Ministers, Pluralities and non residents, placing of godly preaching ministers in every Congregation throughout the Realme, reducing the Officers fees in all Courts of Justice, to a certainty with a strict penaltie for such who exceed them that stricter Lawes may be enacted, for the due sanctification of the Sabboth, and avoiding of all prophanations thereof, that nothing needlesse or justly offensive in the Liturgie may be urged, Papists may bee put out of Commission and wholly disarmed, who are potent and eminent in this and neighbouring Counties, which (in our opinion) of all other Counties, is now most exposed to danger by reason it borders on Ireland, for which cause we humbly desire a Magazine and a Block-house may be erected at Hel-brye which may command the mouth of the passage both of *Chester* and *Liverpoole*-water.

All which our Requests wee humbly submit to your grave wisdomes, desiring such a seasonable accomplishment, as other of your weighty affaires will permit, and doe here with all alacritie prostrate our persons and estates at your feet, to bee imployed by you in any publike service, which may conduce to Gods glory, his Majesties honour, the preservation of our liberties and the welfare of his Church and State; to which wee are ingaged by our late Protestation.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

To the Kings most excellent Majestie.

The Humble Petition of the Gentry, ministers, and Free-holders of the Countie Palatine of Chester, *and of the Inquests serving at the Assizes for the body of the said Countie. Presented to His Majestie at* York. *May* 7. 1642.

Humbly sheweth,

THat though our heart breaking griefs have been many and great, through a lively apprehension of our woefull distractions, which have been of late much increased by this long night of your absence, from your great Councell, yet we have had some surviving reliques of hope, that the sighes and groanes, the teares and prayers of so many dutifull and well affected subjects, from all parts might (in time) have beene accepted, and at lenght have proved powerfull to have melted your Royall brest into compassion, and with such a loving and pleasant violence, might have wonne you to imbrace againe with all tenderneſſe Your whole Kingdome, as it is at this present represented in Parliament.

But now we lament that even those hopes appeare to us gashly as breathing their last, having little vigour remaining in them to uphold our hearts for our sorrowes are doub'led, our feares multiplyed, by the report of your Majesties resolutions to undertake a dangerous) voyage into your Kingdome of Ireland, whereon we look with much wonder and astonishment, far be it from you dread Soveraign to blame our hearts, which (guided by the strength of law and dutie) cannot consent to a journey so perillous, by which your Royall person (wherein we challenge so great an interest, that it is no more yours than ours) shall undergoe varietie of dangers by Sea and Land, wind and waters, having no difference betwixt a King and his meanest vassall.

And if God (the guardian and preserver of Princes)

shall

ſhall ſafely waſt you over, what valuable ſecuritie can be given us of your life, being amongſt ſuch Paniſh, barbarous and cruell Rebels, as (having baniſhed the ſenſe of all religion, Pietie, and Humanitie. and rejecting God, and you their King from raigning over them,) doe continue to murther daily Your innocent and Proteſtant Subjects, of all ages, ſexes and conditions, and which they would perſwade the world they doe act by Your authoritie, approbation and command, thereby heaping vengeance upon their owne heads, and rendring them uncapable and unworthy, the thoughts of the leaſt grace and favour, let your juſtice, we beſeech your Majeſtie have its proper worke upon them, and your mercy upon Us, by granting our moſt humble prayers to theſe particulars.

To comfort our hearts by your reſiding where you may with beſt conveniencie conſult with your great Counſell before you thus hazard your perſon and your people.

To Conſider to what danger hereby you expoſe us by the popiſh faction, when your Majeſtie ſhall leave us naked, and not put into a poſture of defence, to repell the rage and attempts of the enemies to our religion, when wee have too juſt cauſe to feare that they doe but wait for an opportunitie to bring to birth their cruell conceptions. And what ſo great advantage can they hope for, as would be this of your abſence.

To adviſe whether this Journey would not much retard the intended reliefe for Ireland ſince (upon the firſt rumour) many who were minded to ſubſcribe thereto, doe demur in their proceedings, and others wiſh that they might recall what they have ſubſcribed.

No:

Not to deprive us at once of that poore remainder of hope we have to reape further good by the endevours of Your Parliament, whereof we shall dispaire when your presence shall be wanting to infuse life in their proposals and conclusions.

To believe that a journey to White-hall will be the more for your honour and safetie, and far more acceptable to your truest subjects, than a voyage to Ireland.

To view at our humble intreaty that part of King *Davids* story, who being resolved in person to Warre against the Rebels, acquainted the people with his intention, in these words of resolution, I will goe with you my selfe also, but his best Subjects (that were ready to hazard their lives for him, would not suffer him to venture his regall person, which was to them so perrilous) opposed him these termes, Thou shalt not goe forth, neither did *David* reject them as presumptuous, knowing that their confident expression in that particular was the issues of their dutie and love, but gave them this mild and satisfactorie reply, (which we humbly beg, may be Your Majesties answer to your Parliament, us, and all other your good subjects) what seemeth you best, that will we do.

So shall we ever pray, &c.

FINIS.

13

His Majesties ANSWER,

BY WAY OF

DECLARATION

TO A PRINTED PAPER,

ENTITULED,

A Declaration of both Houses of Parliament, in Answer to His Majesties last Message concerning the *Militia*.

Published by His Majesties Command.

LONDON:
Printed by ROBERT BARKER, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie: And by the Assignes of JOHN BILL. 1642.

K. Grt. Brit. and Ireland
Charles I. King

DIEV·ET·MON·DROIT

His Majesties ANSWER; BY WAY OF DECLARATION To a Printed Paper, intituled,

A Declaration of both Houses of Parliament, in Answer to His Majesties last Message concerning the *Militia*.

WE very well understand how much it is below the high and Royall dignity (wherein God hath placed us) to take notice, much more to trouble Our Self with answering those many scandalous seditious Pamphlets and Printed Papers, which are scattered with such great Licence thorowout the Kingdom (notwithstanding Our earnest desire, so often in vain pressed for a Reformation) though We finde it evident, That the minds

of many of Our weak Subjects have been, and still are poisoned by those means, and that so generall a Tercolic hard possessed the minds and hearts of all men, that whiles the Presses swarm (and every day produceth new Tracts against the established Government of the Church and State) most men want the Courage or the Conscience to write, or the opportunity and incouragement to publish such composed sober Animadversions, as might either preserve the mindes of our good Subjects from such Infection, or restore and recover them when they are so infected: But We are contented to let Our Self fall to any Office that may undeceive Our People, and to take more pains this way by Our own Pen, then ever King hath done, when We finde any thing that seems to carry the reputation and authority of either, or both Houses of Parliament, and will not have the same refuted or disputed by common and vulgar Pens, till We are thorowly informed, whether those Acts have in truth that Countenance and Warrant they pretend. Which regard of Ours We doubt not but in time will recover that due reverence (the absence whereof We have too much reason to complain) to Our Person and Our Messages, which in all ages hath been paid (and no doubt is due) to the Crown of England.

We have therefore taken notice of a Printed Paper, intituled, A Declaration of both Houses of Parliament, in Answer to Our last Message concerning the Militia, published by command; The which We are unwilling to beleeve (both for the

Matter

Matter of it, the Expreſſions in it, and the Manner of publiſhing it) can relult from the conſent of both Houſes; Neither do we know by what lawfull Command ſuch unromely, irreverent mention of Us can be publiſhed to the World. And though Declarations of this kinde have of late (with too much boldneſſe) broken in upon Us and the whole Kingdom, when one, or both Houſes have thought fit to communicate their Councils and Reſolutions to the People, yet We are unwilling to believe, that ſuch a Declaration as this, ſhould be publiſhed in Anſwer to Our Meſſage, without vouchſafing at leaſt to ſend it to Us as their Anſwer. Their Unkindneſſe for which they are not by Our Writ and Authority, being to Counſell Us for the good of Our People, not to write againſt Us to Our people, and no conſent of Ours for their long continuing together, enabling them to do any thing, but what they were firſt ſummoned by Our Writ to do. At leaſt, We will believe, though miſunderſtanding and Jealouſie (the Juſtice of God will puniſh the Fomenters of that Jealouſie, and the Promoters and Contrivers of that miſunderſtanding) might produce (to ſay no worſe) thoſe very untoward Expreſſions, that if thoſe Houſes had conſidred that Declaration, as an Anſwer to Our Meſſage, they would have vouchſafed ſome Anſwer to the Queſtion propoſed in Ours, which We profeſſed, did and muſt evidently prevail over Our miſunderſtanding; and in their wiſdom and gravity they would have been ſure to have ſtated the Matters of fact, as (at

least to ordinary understandings) might be unquestionable; Neither of which is done by that Declaration.

We desire to know why We were by that Act absolutely excluded from any Power or Authority in the execution of the Militia, and We must appeal to all the world, whether such an attempt be not a greater, and juster ground for Fear and Jealousie in Us, then any one that is avowed for those distructive Fears and Jealousies, which are so publikely owned, almost to the ruine of the Kingdom. But We have been told that We must not be jealous of Our great Councell of both Houses of Parliament. We are not, no more then they are of Us their King, and hitherto they have not avowed any jealousie of, or disaffection to Our Person; imputed all to Our evil Councellours, to a Malignant party that are not of their mindes: So We do (and We do it from Our soul) profesie no Jealousie of Our Parliament, but of some turbulent, seditious, and ambitious Natures, which (being not so cleerly discerned) may have an influence even upon the Actions of both Houses. And if this Declaration hath passed by such consent, (which We are not willing to believe) it is not impossible but that the apprehension of such Tumults, which have driven Us from Our City of London for the safety of Our Person, may make such an impression in other men, (not able to remove from the danger) to make them consent, or not to own a dissent in matters not agreeable to their conscience or understanding.

We

We mentioned in that Our Answer Our dislike of the putting of their names out of the Bill whom before they recommended to Us in their pretended Ordinance, and the leaving out by speciall Provision the present Lord Major of London, to all which the Declaration affords no Answer, and therefore We cannot suppose it was intended for an Answer to that Our Message, which whosoever looks upon, will finde to be in no degree answered by that Declaration.

But it informs all Our Subjects, after the mention, with what humility the Ordinance was prepared and presented to Us, (a matter very evident in the Petitions and Messages concerning it) and Our refusall to give Our consent, notwithstanding the severall reasons offered of the necessity thereof, for the securing of Our Person, and the Peace and Safety of Our people, (whether any such Reasons were given, the weight of them, and whether they were not clearly and candidly answered by Us, the world will easily judge) that they were at last necessitated to make an Ordinance by Authority of both Houses, to settle the Militia, warranted thereunto by the Fundamentall Laws of the Land: But if that Declaration had indeed intended to have answered Us, it would have told Our good Subjects what those Fundamentall Laws of the Land are, and where to be found; And would at last have mentioned one Ordinance from the first beginning of Parliaments to this present Parliament, which endeavoured to impose any thing upon the Subject without the

Kings

Kings consent; for of such all the learning we can make could never produce us one instance. And if there be such a secret of the Law, which hath lain hid from the beginning of the world to this time, and now is discovered to take away the just Legall power of the King, we wish there be not some other secret (to be discovered when they please) for the ruine and destruction of the Liberty of the Subject: For no doubt, if the Votes of both Houses have any such Authority to make a new Law, it hath the same Authority to repeal the old, and then what will become of the long established Rights and Liberties of the King and Subject, and particularly of Magna Charta, will be easily discerned by the most ordinary understandings.

It is true, we did (out of the tenderness of the Constitution of the Kingdom and care of the Law, which we are bound to defend, and being most assured of the unjustifiableness of the pretended Ordinance) advise and desire both Our Houses of Parliament to settle whatsoever should be fit of that nature, by Act of Parliament, But never did we therefore obliged to passe whatsoever should be brought to us of that kinde: We did say in Our Answer to the Petition of both Houses, presented to us at York the 26. of March last (and we have said the same in other Messages before) that we always thought it necessary the Militia should be settled, and that we never denied the thing, onely denied the way, and thereby the same still, since the many Disputes, and quarrel upon

upon Lords Lieutenants, and their Commissions (which were begun by Us, or Our Father) had so discountenanced that Authority, which for many yeers together was happily looked upon with Reverence and Obedience by the People; We did, and do think it very necessary, that some wholesome Law be provided for that business; but We declared in Our Answer to the pretended Ordinance, We expected that that necessary Power should be first Invested in Us, before We consented to transferre it to other men: Neither could it ever be imagined, that we would consent that a greater Power should be in the hands of a Subject, then We were thought worthy to be trusted with Our Self; And if it shall not be thought fit to make a new Act, or Declaration in this point, We doubt not but We shall be able to grant such Commissions, which shall very Legally Enable those We trust to do all Offices for the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, if any Disturbance shall happen.

But that Declaration saith, We were pleased to offer them a Bill ready drawn, and that they (to expresse their earnest zeal to correspond with Our desire) did passe that Bill; yet all that Expression of Affection and Loyaltie, all that earnest desire of theirs to comply with Us, produced no better effect then an absolute deniall, even of what by Our former Messages (as that Declaration conceives) We had promised; and so proceeds (under the pretence of mentioning evill and wicked Counsels) to censure and reproach Us in a Dialect, that We are confident Our good Subjects will read with

much indignation on Our behalf: But sure if that Declaration had passed the Examination of both Houses of Parliament, they would never have affirmed that the Bill We refused to passe, was the same We sent to them, or have thought that Our Message wherein the difference and contrariety between the two Bils is so particularly set down, would be answered with the bare averring them to be one and the same Bill; No more would they have declared (when Our Exceptions to the Ordinance, and the Bill are so notoriously known to all Our People) that care being taken to give satisfaction in all the particulars We had excepted against in the Ordinance, We had found new exceptions to the Bill; And yet this very Declaration confesses, that Our Exception to the Ordinance was, that in the disposing and execution thereof We were excluded. And was not this an expresse reason in Our Answer for Our refusall of the Bill which this Declaration will needs confute? But the Power was no other then to suppresse Rebellion, Insurrection, and forreign Invasion, and the Persons trusted no other then such as were nominated by the great Councell of the Kingdom, and assented to by Us; and that Declaration asks if that be too great a Power to trust these persons with? Indeed whiles so great Liberty is used in Voting and Declaring men to be enemies to the Common-wealth (an English phrase We scarcely understand) and in censuring Men for their service and attendance upon Our person, and in Our lawfull Commands, great heed must be taken

taken into what hands we commit such a Power to suppresse Insurrection and Rebellion. And if Insurrection and Rebellion have found other definitions then what the Law hath given them, We must be sure that no lawfull Power shall justifie those definitions; And if there be Learning found out to make Sir John Hothams taking Arms against Us, and keeping Our Town and Fort from Us, no Treason or Rebellion, We know not whether a new Discovery may not finde it Rebellion in Us, to defend Our self from such Arms, and to endeavour to recover what is so taken from Us: And therefore it concerns Us (till the known Law of the Land be allowed to be Judge between Us) to take heed into what hands We commit such Power: Besides, can it be thought, that because We are willing to trust certain persons, that We are obliged to trust them in whatsoever they are willing to be trusted: We say, no private hands are fit for such a Trust, neither have We departed from any thing (in the least degree) We offered or promised before, though We might with as much reason have withdrawn Our Trust from some persons We before had accepted, as they did from others whom they recommended. For the Power which We are charged to have committed to particular persons, for the space of fifteen yeers by Our Commissions of Lieutenancie, it is notoriously known, that it was not a Power created by Us, but continued very many yeers, and in the most happy times this Kingdom hath enjoyed (even those of Our renowned Predecessors Queen Elizabeth,

zabeth, and Our Father of happy memory) and what ever Authority was granted by those Commissions which were kept in the old forms, the same was determinable at Our pleasure, and we know not that they produced any of those Calamities which might give Our good Subjects cause to be so weary of them, as to run the hazard of so much mischief, as that Bill we refused might possibly have produced.

For the Presidents of former ages in the Commissions of Array, we doubt not but when any such have issued out, that the Kings consent was always obteined, and the Commissions determinable at His pleasure, and then what the extent of power was, will be nothing applicable to this Case of the Ordinance.

But whether that Declaration hath refuted Our Reasons for Our refusall to passe the Bill or no, it hath resolved and required all Persons in authority thereby to put the Ordinance in present execution, and all others to obey it according to the fundamentall Lawes of the Land; But we whom God hath trusted to maintain and defend those fundamentall Lawes (which we hope He will blesse to secure Us) do declare that there is no legall power in either or both Houses, upon any pretence whatsoever, without Our consent, to command any part of the Militia of this Kingdom, nor hath the like ever been commanded by either or both Houses since the first foundation of the Lawes of this Land; and that the execution of, or the obedience to that pretended Ordinance, is

against

against the fundamentall Lawes of the Land, against the liberty of the Subject, and the right of Parliaments, and a high crime in any that shall henceforth execute the same. And We do therefore charge and command all Our loving Subjects, of what degree or quality soever, upon their Allegiance, and as they tender the peace of this Kingdom, from henceforth not to Muster, Leavy or Array, or summon, or warn any of Our Trained Bands, to Rise, Muster or March by vertue or under Colour of that pretended Ordinance: And to this declaration and command of Ours, We expect and require a full submission and obedience from all Our loving Subjects upon their Allegiance, as they will answer the contrary at their perils, and as they tender the upholding of the true Protestant profession, the safety of Our Person, and Our Royall Posterity, the Peace and Being of this Kingdom.

FINIS.

LONDON:

Printed by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſtie: and by the Aſsignes of *John Bill*.

1642.

14

A New and true Relation FROM IRELAND,

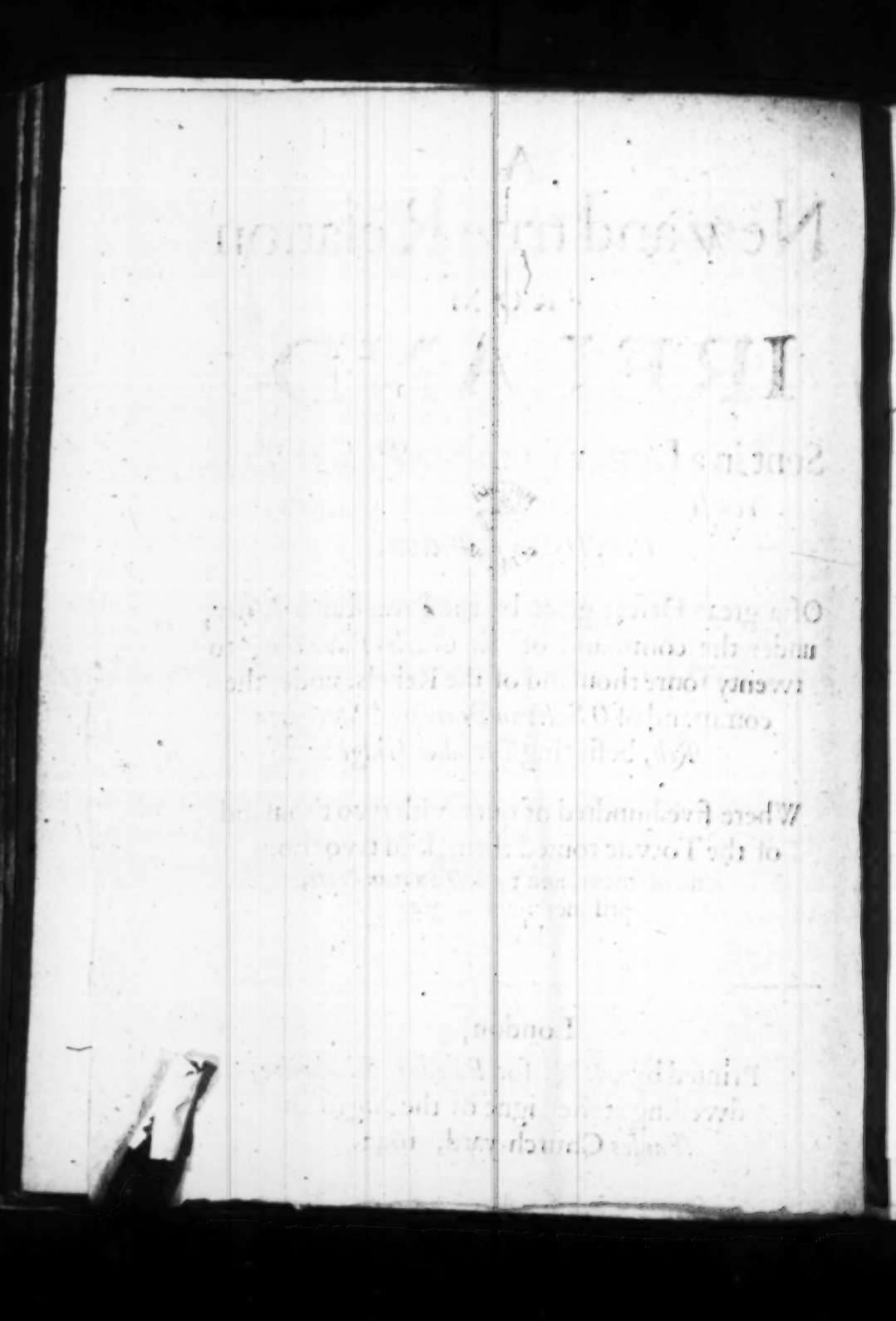
Sent in a Letter from Sir *Robert Traverſe*, to Lievtenant *James Finch* in *London*.

K.

Of a great Defeat given by the Proteſtants Army, under the command of Sir *Charles Vavaſour*, to twenty foure thouſand of the Rebels, under the command of *O Sulivan Beare*, and *Macharta Reh*, beſieging *Brandon-bridge*:

Where five hundred of ours with two thouſand of the Towne routed them, kild two thouſand of them, and took *O Sulivan Beare*, priſoner: and a great booty.

London,
Printed by *A. N.* for *Edward Blackmore*, dwelling at the Signe of the *Angell* in *Paules* Church-yard, 1642.



Worthy Sir;

I Know you cannot but much desire to hear from your Friends especially having left them in this miserable distracted Kingdom, where nothing is frequent but tumults and bloudy massacres; yet in the midst of these it hath pleased Almighty God to blesse your Friends with health: your bed-fellow is in good health, and your Father in law Master *Freake*, and your brother Master *Arthur Freake*, I know you doe expect some news from hence, and God be prayed, I never had more cause, nor better news to certifie you of, which hath conduced to the glory of Almighty God, and the comfort of all us poore distressed Protestants, against whom that devouring beast

of *Rome*, hath advanced all her Force. About the beginning of this moneth *O Sulivan Beare*, came from the Westerne parts with twelve thousand men, and came to *Timoleague*, where Sir *Roger O Shahons* dwels and pillaged the towne, and kill'd a great many of the English barbarously, ravishing their Wives and Daughters, taking the prey of all the town, and setting fire to the most part of the towne, marched away, and came to *Macharta Reb.* a great Rebell who had 12000 men, joyning their Forces, marched to *Bandonbridge*, and there besieged the towne and us in it, threatning to put us all to the sword if we did not presently render the town, but upon refusall, they set the base town on fire, hoping by that meanes to fire the towne of *Bandonbridge*, but God be thanked, it took not that effect which they expected, for the wind blowing pretty hard from the West, kept the fire from us, to our no little joy, and their vexation, who were thus disappointed of their wicked intentions only by the providence of Almighty God, to whom let all good Christians render perpetuall thanks for his great mercies shewed to his distressed people: these Rebels and their Forces continued before the town strictly besieging us, & daily shooting into

the

the Towne, the ſpace of foure dayes, in which time we had diſpatched certaine Meſſengers to my Lord Preſident of *Munſter* to *Corke*, who hearing of our diſtreſſe, ſent Sir *Charles Vavaſour*, who came in the night with only 500. men, and ſome other Engliſh Commanders, and two peeces of Ordnance, who made an aſſault upon them before it was light (they not expecting any ſuch thing) which being ſo ſuddenly performed, did ſo diſtract and amaze the Rebels that they ſeemed to be men without life, and we hearing this Alarme into the Towne, having 2000. men in readineſſe under the command of the Right Honourble the Lords of *Kenelmech* and *Brahull*, both my Lord of *Corkes* ſonnes (as having before had intelligence of the ſtratagem) did iſſue out upon them, and valiantly aſſailed them, who at the comming of the Towne forces, they were abſolutely rowted, and every man began to provide for his ſafetie by flight, nor could the threats nor perſwaſions of their Commanders cauſe them to ſtay, but they all run away, and left their chiefe Commander *O Sulivan Beare*, who was there ſhot and taken priſoner, and had not *Macharta Reh* fled, he had beene his companion in

impriſonment, as he was before in Armes, yet for all their haſt there was at this bickering ſlaine and wounded on the Rebels part to the number of 2000. men, wee loſing but twenty men beſide ſo ne priſoners that were preſently conveyed to *Corke* to my Lord Preſident, who preſently cauſed them all to bee hanged, as for *O Sulivan Beare* we have him in ſure cuſtody untill he may be ſafely conveyed to *Dublin*. Thus we daily ſee by experience how mightily God fighteth for us, to whom be praiſe and glory for evermore: After the flight and maſſacre of theſe miſerable people, the whole ſpoyle of their Campe was taken, which was great, & a great part of it was devided amongſt the the Souldiers to incourage them, the reſt is kept for the reliefe of our men, there was taken ſome 60. head of cattell, ſome proviſion of bread & meat, three barrels, of powder 300. Muſkets, 200. Pikes, with certaine Swords and Skeenes, ſeven Colours, and certaine other things, not worth expreſſing, to the great diſheartning of them, and and incouragement of us.

The Rebels have ſince aſſembled their ſcattered run-awayes, which our forces hearing did

march

march towards them, but could not cauſe them to ſtay, nor durſt they fight, the feare which the laſt skirmiſh had ſtricken them into being ſtill in them, and the want of Armes and powder (which if they had, they would ſoone be with us) doth cauſe them (when our men come neere them) to ſhift away through woods and other by-wayes, ſo that they will not by any meanes ſtand the hazard of a fight: wee want men and money extraordinarily (for had not God bleſſed us with this little pillage to releeve our men, we had beene in a miſerable condition, but we hope, and daily expect ſupplyes of both from *England*, which if a ſpeedy courſe bee not taken, it will much endanger the loſſe of this Kingdome, and the lives of many thouſands of poore diſtreſſed Proteſtants, for there is ſcarce an Iriſh Gentleman, but is turned to the Rebels, for they call themſelves the holy Catholique Campe, and doe expect ſupplies from ſome forraigne Enemie. And further to certifie you, they have burned your Father *Freakes* houſe at *Roſe* and the Deanes houſe, and have taken all the pillage in and about the Towne, and have left a

Garriſon

Garriſon there: Your friend hopes ſhortly to ſee you here againe with a ſupply of men and money, your wife, children, and friends are all well, and remember you daily in their prayers to God: ſo till I ſee you (and ever) I ſhall remaine,

Your aſſured loving friend,

Brandonbridge this 14th of May, 1642.

ROB. TRAVERS.

A

I

ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT BY THE COMMONS ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT,

In the Name of themselves and all the Commons in *England*.

AGAINST

Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, Recorder of the Cittie of *London*, for severall great Crimes, and Misdemeanours committed by him.

As also the Votes concerning Generall Major *Skipton*.

With an Order for the disposing of the Magazine of the Counties of *England* and *Wales*.

Printed, *May* 23, 1642.

Die Martis, 17 *Maii*. 1642.

Severall Votes of Parliament, concerning Sergeant Major Generall *Skippon*.

Resolved upon the Question.

THat this command of his Majesty to call Captain *Philip Skippon*, Sergeant Major Generall of the Forces of *London* to attend his Majesties person at *Yorke*, is against the Law of the Land and the liberty of the Subject.

Resolved upon the Question.

That this command of his Majesty, to call Captaine *Philip Skippon* Sergeant Major Generall of the Forces of *London*, to attend his Majesties person, being imployed by both Houses to attend their service, without their consent, is against the priviledge of Parliament.

Resolved upon the Question.

That Captaine *Philip Skippon*, Sergeant Major Generall of the Forces of *London*, shall continue to attend the Service of both Houses, according to their former commands.

Hen. Elsing, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Martis. 20 *Maii*. 1642.

IT is this day Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, That the Magazines of the severall Counties in *England*, and *Wales*, shall be forthwith put into the power of the Lord Lieytenants of the said Counties, respectively, (being such as the Parliament doth confide in) for the Service and safety of his Majesty and the Kingdome.

Ordered by the Lords in Parliament, That this Order shall be Printed and published.

Iob. Browne, Cler. Parl.

ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT AGAINST Sir THOMAS GARDINER Recorder of the City of *London*.

Imprimis.

THat the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner* being now and for 6 yeeres last past, having been Recorder of the City of *London*, and having taken an oath for his faithfull discharge of his said Office, and to maintaine the Franchises and Customs of the said City, and not discover the Councel therof to the hurt of the same, did in the yeere of our *Lord God*, 1638. contrary to the Laws of this Kingdome, and contrary to his Oath wickedly advise, direct, and earnestly presse Sir *Maurice Abbot*, Knight, then Lord Major of *London*, the Aldermen and Common Councell of the said City, and others at severall times since, to impose, levy, and take of the said Citizens and Inhabitants, without their consent in Parliament the illegall Tax of ship-money, and being told by some of the said Common-Councell, That the said Taxe of ship-money was against Law, he the said Sir *Thomas Gar-*

giner replyed, there would be Law found for it ere Long.

II.

That the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner* in the said yeare 1638. did wickedly advise and perswade the said then Lord Major, Aldermen, and Common-counsell of London, that they might at their owne will and pleasure by force and power of the Acts of that Court, taxe, and levie on the said Citizens and Inhabitants, without their consent in Parliament, a certaine summe of money by way of Loane, to furnish his Majesty for his warres, affirming that such Acts would bind and compell the Citizens to pay the same; And also in the said yeare 1638. contrary to his oath, and against the said Lawes of the Land did wickedly advise and direct the then Lord Maior, Aldermen and Common Councell, to raise and levie an Armie of 3000. men of the Trained Bands of the said Citie, to serve his Majesty in his warres in the North against his Majesties Subjects of *Scotland*, and therein hee affirmed, That every Subject was bound by his Allegeance to serve the King, and that neither the Statute-Law, nor their Charters could excuse them, saying also the same time, It is now no time to plead Statutes and Charters.

III.

That about the moneth of *February* 1639. he the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, contrary to his Oath, and to the Lawes of the Land, did earnestly perswade and presse Sir *Henry Garraway*, Knight, then Lord Maior, the Aldermen and Common Counsell of *London*, to impresse cloth, and conduct soldiers of the said Citizens and Inhabitants, to serve the King in his warres in the North against his Majesties Subjects of *Scotland*, and all one the same was to be done by the said

said Court of Common Councell as a thing against Law, yet by the perswasion of the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner* the same was then performed by the then Lord Major, and the money paid for the same out of the Chamber of *London*, without any consent or approbation of the said Court of Common Councell, contrary to the Liberties and Customes of the said City, and in subversion of them.

IV.

That a Petition directed to his Majesty, being prepared in the said yeare 1638. by the said then Lord Major, Aldermen, and Common Councell, setting forth the Lawes and Statutes of this Kingdome, and the Charters of the said City, to exempt the said Citizens and Inhabitants of *London* from certaine illegall taxes and services, wherby his Majestie might be pleased not to continue such his Demand of men and mony from them, and the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, contrary to his Oath and duty of his place, did reveale and disclose to his Majesty their counsell and their intention of delivery of that Petition, and then told the persons appointed to deliver the same Petition, that his Majesty would receive no Petition from them.

V.

That the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, to the end to preserve himselfe from being questioned for the same crimes, laboured to hinder the calling of Parliaments: And therefore in the moneth of *May*, in the yeare 1640. presently after the dissolving of Parliament, hee the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, advised and perswaded the then Lord Major, Aldermen and Common Councell of *London*

to lend the King 100000. l for his warres against His Majesties subjects of *Scotland*, and albeit they told him it was not safe for them to do it, when the Parliament and Kingdome had refused it; yet he earnestly perswaded them thereunto, and in or about July in the said yeere 1640. when many thousand of the said Citizens of *London* joyned in a Petition to be delivered unto his Majesty to call a Parliament for setling the distractions of this Kingdome, and for the peace and welfare thereof, and of His Majesties Kingdome of *Scotland*, he the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner* did earnestly diswade them from it; saying, it was dangerous and needlesse, and the Petition would come unseasonable to interrupt the Kings affaires.

VI.

That in December last, when a petition was prepated and subscribed by many thousands of the said Citizens to be presented to the House of Commons, to assure them of their good affection to the King and Parliament, and not to divert the Parliament in their just waies: he the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner* caused some of the Petitioners to be sent for before the Lord Major and himselfe, and questioned them as Rioters and disturbers of the peace, saying that the putting of their hands to a Petition, was the way to put all together by the eares, and being then answered by some of the said Petitioners, that they sought nothing but peace, he replied in these or the like words: Is this your way to peace? no, it tends to sedition and blood, and to cutting of throats, and if it come to that you may thanke your selves; your bloods be upon your owne heads; & he used other threatning speeches to discourage and terrifie the Petitioners from further proceeding in their said petition, which Petition was afterwards presented to the Lords and Commons

Commons in Parliament, and well approved by them, and doth not containe any dangerous matter, as was maliciously by him pretended; as may appeare by the Copy of a Petition hereunto annexed.

VII.

That in January last, at a Court of Common-Councell in *London*, an Order of the House of Commons was sent and delivered to the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Common-Councell of the said City, appointing them to make choice of meet persons to have the ordering of the Militia: Whereat the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner* was present and tooke notice of the said Order, and declared his opinion, That the persons of the Committee formerly chosen for the safety of the said City, were the fittest men to take that service upon them. Whereupon the Lord Major and Sheriffe desiring to be excused, the persons of the said Committee were chosen by a cleere Vote, and their names sent to the House of Commons, and by them and the House of Peeres allowed and approved of. Yet afterwards, he the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner* endeavoring and plotting to hinder the proceedings in Parliament, the peace and safety of this Kingdome, did most maliciously and wickedly advise and direct, the making and framing of two false and seditious petitions. And he the said Sir *Thomas Gardiner* upon perusall of them, affirmed, the matters contained in them, to be agreeable to Law, and to the custome of the said City; thereby encouraging divers of the said City to subscribe the same, and to send the one of them to be presented to His Majesty, and the other unto the Lords and Commons in Parliament, which petitions do contain in them, divers false, scandalous, and seditious matters. And in particular, that petition annexed hereunto, a Copy whereof was afterwards subscribed by divers Citizens, and presented

ſented to the Houſe of Commons containeth falſe matter, That the Ordering of the Arms of the ſaid City of *London*, had beene time out of minde annexed to the Majoralty for the time being, and inſinuating that if the ſame ſhould be conferred upon others, it would reflect upon the Government and Cuſtome of the ſaid City, which every Freeman of the ſaid City, was by his Oath of Freedome bound to maynta in to the uttermoſt of his power, Which Petitions were ſo contrived, framed, and publiſhed on purpoſe to divert his Majeſty from aſſenting to the ſaid Ordinance, and to worke a diſtraction in the ſaid City, and to bring the Parliament, City, and whole Kingdome into diſorder and confuſion. All which matters committed and done by the ſaid Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, were, and are high crimes and miſ'emeanours contrary to the Laws of this Realme, and in ſubverſion of them, and contrary to the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, the liberty and propriety of the ſubject, tending to ſedition, and to the diſturbance of the publike peace of this Realme.

And the ſaid Commons by Proteſtation to themſelves the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other Accuſation or Impeachment againſt the ſaid Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, and alſo of replying to the anſwers that the ſaid Sir *Thomas Gardiner* ſhall make unto the ſaid Articles, or to any of them, and of offering further proof of the premiſſes, or any of them, or of any other Impeachment, or Accuſation that ſhall bee exhibited by them, as the cauſe ſhall according to the courſe of Parliament require, Doe pray, that the ſaid Sir *Thomas Gardiner* may bee put to anſwer all and every the premiſſes, And that ſuch proceedings, Exactions, Tryals, and Judgements may be upon every of them, had and uſed, as is agreeable to Law and Juſtice.

FINIS.

THE VOTES OF BOTH Houſes of Parliament, *the* 20. *of May*, 1642.

With the humble Petition of the LORDS and COMMONS in *Parliament* Aſſembled, To the KING'S moſt Excellent Majeſty at *Yorke*.

Die Lunæ 23. *Maii*, 1642.

Ordered by the Lords in Parliament, that theſe Votes and this Petition, ſhall be forthwith printed and publiſhed.

Io. Brown Cleric. Parliamentorum.

LONDON,
Printed for *Ioſeph Hunſcot*, and *John Wright*.
May 24. 1641.

Die Veneris 20 Maii, 1642.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion, by the Lords and Commons, &c.

THat it appeares, that the King (ſeduced by wicked Counſell) intends to make warre againſt the Parliament, who (in all their conſultations and actions) have propoſed no other end unto themſelves but the care of his Kingdoms, and the performance of all duty and loyalty to his perſon. I.

Reſolved, &c.

That whenſoever the King maketh warre- II.

warre upon the Parliament, it is a breach of the truſt repoſed in him by his people, contrary to his oath, and tending to the diſſolution of this government.

Reſolved, &c.

III. That whoſoever ſhall ſerve or aſſiſt Him in ſuch warres, are Traitors, by the fundamentall Lawes of this Kingdome; and have been ſo adjudged by two Acts of
11.R.2. 1.H.4. Parliament, and ought to ſuffer as Traitors.

TO

TO THE

Kings moſt Excellent MAIESTY.

The humble Petition of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament.

YOur Majeſties loyall Subiects the Lords and Commons in this Parliament doe humbly repreſent unto Your Majeſty, that notwithſtanding Your frequent profeſsi-

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ons to Your Parliament, and the Kingdome, and the late expreſsion in Your Anſwer of the 13. of *May* to the Petition of the County of *Yorke*, that your deſire and intention is onely the preſerving of the true Proteſtant profeſſion, the Lawes of the Land, the liberty of your people, and the peace of the Kingdome. Nevertheleſſe, with great griefe, we perceive by Your ſpeech of the 12 of *May*, and the Paper printed in Your Majeſties name in the form of a Proclamation, bearing date the 14 of *May*, and other evidences, that under colour of raiſing a Guard to ſecure Your Perſon, of which Guard conſidering the fidelity and care of Your Parliament, there can be no uſe. Your Maieſty doth

doth command troopes both of Horſe & Foot to aſſemble at *York*, the very beginnings wherof were apprehended by the inhabitants of that County to be an affrightment and diſturbance of Your Maieſties liegepeople, as appeares by their Petition preſented to Your Maieſty, the continuing & encreaſe of which Forces is to Your Parliament, and muſt needs be a juſt cauſe of great jealouſie & danger to your whole Kingdom.

Therefore we doe humbly beſeech Your Majeſty to disband all ſuch Forces as by your command are aſſembled, and relying for Your ſecurity as Your Predeceſſours have done upon the laws and the affections of your people, You will be pleaſed to deſiſt from

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any further deſignes of this nature, contenting your Selfe with your uſuall and ordinary guards; otherwiſe we ſhal hold our ſelves bound in duty towards God, and the truſt repoſed in us by the people, and the fundamentall Lawes and Conſtitutions of this Kingdom, to imploy our care and utmoſt power to ſecure the Parliament, and to preſerve the peace and quiet of the Kingdome.

FINIS.

17

THE DECLARATION OR REMONSTRANCE OF The Lords and Commons, in PARLIAMENT assembled.

With divers depoſitions and Letters thereunto annexed.

Die Jovis 19. Maii. 1642.

It is this day ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, that this Declaration, together with the Depoſitions, ſhall be forthwith printed and publiſhed.

Jo: Browne, Cleric. Parliamen.

LONDON,
Printed for *Joſeph Hunſcott* and *John Wright*. 1642.

THE
DECLARATION
OR
REMONSTRANCE
OF
The Lords and Commons,
in PARLIAMENT assembled.

With divers Propositions and Heads
thereunto annexed.

A DECLARATION OF BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

THe infinite mercy, and providence of the Almighty God hath been aboundantly manifeſted ſince the beginning of this Parliament, in great variety of protections and bleſſings whereby hee hath not onely delivered us from many wicked Plots, and deſignes, which if they had taken effect would have brought ruine, and deſtruction upon this Kingdome; but out of thoſe attempts hath produced divers evident, and remarkable advantages to the furtherance of thoſe ſervices, which we have beene deſirous to performe to our Soveraigne Lord the King, and to this Church and State in providing for the publique peace, and proſperity of his Majeſty, and all his Realmes: which in the preſence of the ſame all-ſeeing deity, we proteſt to have been, and ſtill to be the onely end of all our counſells and endeavours, wherein we have reſolved to continue freed, and inlarged from all private aimes, perſonall reſpects or paſſions whatſoever.

In which reſolution we are ſomething diſcouraged, although the heads of the malignant party diſappointed of that prey, the Religion and liberty of this Kingdome, which they were ready to ſeiſe upon, and devour before the beginning of this Parliament, have ſtill perſiſted by new practiſes, both of force and ſubtility, to recover the ſame againe: for which purpoſe they have made ſeverall attempts for the bringing up of the Army; they afterwards projected the falſe accuſation of the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five members of the Houſe of Commons, which being in it ſelfe of an odious nature, they yet ſo farre prevailed with his Majeſty as to procure him to take it upon himſelfe, but when the unchangeable duty and faithfulneſſe of the Parliament could not bee wrought upon by ſuch a fact as that, to withdraw any part of their re-

THE DECLARATION OR REMONSTRANCE OF The Lords and Commons, in PARLIAMENT assembled.

With divers depositions and Letters thereunto annexed.

Die Jovis 10. Maii 1642.

It is this day ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, that this Declaration, together with the Depositions, shall be forthwith printed and published.

Jo. Bronze, Clerk. Parliament.

LONDON,

Printed for Joseph Hunscott and John Wright 1642.

A DECLARATION OF BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

THe infinite mercy, and providence of the Almighty God hath been aboundantly manifested since the beginning of this Parliament, in great variety of protections and blessings whereby hee hath not onely delivered us from many wicked Plots, and designes, which if they had taken effect would have brought ruine, and destruction upon this Kingdome; but out of those attempts hath produced divers evident, and remarkable advantages to the furtherance of those services, which we have beene desirous to performe to our Soveraigne Lord the King, and to this Church and State in providing for the publique peace, and prosperity of his Majesty, and all his Realmes: which in the presence of the same all-seeing deity, we protest to have been, and still to be the onely end of all our counsells and endeavours, wherein we have resolved to continue freed, and inlarged from all private aimes, personall respects or passions whatsoever.

In which resolution we are something discouraged, although the heads of the malignant party disappointed of that prey, the Religion and liberty of this Kingdome, which they were ready to seise upon, and devour before the beginning of this Parliament, have still persisted by new practises, both of force and subtility, to recover the same againe: for which purpose they have made severall attempts for the bringing up of the Army; they afterwards projected the false accusation of the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five members of the House of Commons, which being in it selfe of an odious nature, they yet so farre prevailed with his Majesty as to procure him to take it upon himselfe, but when the unchangeable duty and faithfulnesse of the Parliament could not bee wrought upon by such a fact as that, to withdraw any part of their re-

verence and obedience from his Majesty, they have with much art, and industry advised his Majestie to suffer divers unjust scandalls, and imputations upon the Parliament, to be published in his name, whereby they might make it odious to the people, and by their helpe to destroy that, which hitherto hath been the onely meanes of their owne preservation.

For this purpose they have drawn his Majesty into the Northerne parts far from the Parliament, that so false rumours might have time to get credit, and the just defences of the Parliament finde a more tedious, difficult, and disadvantagious accesse, after those false imputations and slanders had been first rooted in the apprehension of his Majesty, and his Subjects, which the more speedily to effect, they have caused a Presse to be transported to *Yorke*, from whence severall papers, and writings of that kinde are conveyed to all parts of the Kingdome, without the authority of the great seale, in an unusuall and illegall manner, and without the advice of his Majesties Privy Counsell, from the greater, and better part whereof having withdrawne himselfe, aswell as from his great Councell of parliament, he is thereby exposed to the wicked and unfaithfull councells of such as have made the wisdome, and justice of the Parliament dangerous to themselves, and this danger they labour to prevent by hiding their owne guilt, under the name and shadow of the King: infusing into him their owne feares, and asmuch as in them lies, asperſing his royall person and honour with their owne infamy, from both which it hath alwayes been as much the care as it is the duty of the Parliament, to preserve his Majesty, and to fix the guilt of all evill actions and counsells, upon those who have been the authors of them.

Amongst divers writings of this kinde, wee the Lords and Commons in Parliament, have taken into our consideration two printed papers, the first containing a declaration which they received from his Majestie in answer of that which was presented to his Majesty from both Houses of Parliament at *Newmarket* the ninth of March. 1641. The other his Majesties answer to the petition of both Houses presented to his Majesty at *Yorke* the 26 of *March*. 1642. Both which are filled with harsh censures, and causeleſſe charges upon the Parliament concerning which we hold it necessary to give satisfaction to the Kingdome, seeing we find it very difficult to satisfy his Majesty, who to our great griefe, we have found to be so ingaged to, and possessed by those misapprehensions which evill counsellors have wrought in him, that our most humble and faithfull Remonstrances, have rather irritated and imbit-

imbittered, then any thing allayed or mitigated the ſharpe expreſſions which his Majeſty hath been pleaſed to make in anſwer unto them, for the manifeſtation whereof, and of our owne innocency, wee deſire that all his Majeſties loving ſubjects may take notice of theſe particulars.

We know no occaſion given by us which might move his Majeſty to tell us that in our declaration preſented at Newmarket, there were ſome expreſſions different from the uſuall language to Princes.

Neither did we tell his Maieſty either in words or in effect, that if he did not joyne with us in an Act which his Maieſty conceived might prove prejudiciall, and dangerous to himſelfe, and the whole kingdome, we would make a Law without him, and impoſe it upon the people. That which we deſired, was, that in regard of the imminent danger of the Kingdome, the Militia, for the ſecurity of his Majeſty, and his people, might be put under the command of ſuch noble and faithfull perſons, as they had all cauſe to confide in, and ſuch was the neceſſity of this preſervation, that we declared, that if his Majeſty ſhould refuſe to joyne with us therein, the two Houſes of Parliament being the ſupreame Court and higheſt councell of the Kingdome, were enabled by their owne authority to provide for the repulſing of ſuch imminent, and evident danger, not by any new Law of their owne making as hath been untruly ſuggeſted to his Majeſty, but by the moſt antient Law of this Kingdom, even that which is fundamentall and eſſentiall to the conſtitution and ſubſiſtance of it.

Although we never deſired to encourage his Majeſty to ſuch replies as might produce any conteſtation betwixt him and his Parliament, of which wee never found better effect, then loſſe of time, and hindrance of the publique affaires; Yet We have beene farre from telling him of how little value his words would be with us, much leſſe when they are accompanied with actions of Love and Juſtice, His Majeſty hath more reaſon to finde fault with thoſe wicked counſellours, who have ſo often bereaved him of the honour, and his people of the fruit, of many gracious Speeches, which hee made to them, ſuch as thoſe in the end of the laſt parliament; That in the word of a King, and as he was a Gentleman he would redreſſe the grievances of his People aſwell out of Parliament as in it, were the ſearching the Studies and Chambers, yea, the Pockets of ſome, both of the Nobility, and Commons the very next day; The Commitment of Maſter *Belaſis*, Sir *John Hotham*, and Maſter *Crew*, the continued oppreſſions by Shipmoney, Coat and Conduct money, with the manifold impriſon-

 ments,

verence and obedience from his Majeſty, they have with much art, and induſtry adviſed his Majeſtie to ſuffer divers unjuſt ſcandalls, and imputations upon the Parliament, to be publiſhed in his name, whereby they might make it odious to the people, and by their helpe to deſtroy that, which hitherto hath been the onely meanes of their owne preſervation.

For this purpoſe they have drawn his Majeſty into the Northerne parts far from the Parliament, that ſo falſe rumours might have time to get credit, and the juſt defences of the Parliament finde a more tedious, difficult, and diſadvantagious acceſſe, after thoſe falſe imputations and ſlanders had been firſt rooted in the apprehenſion of his Majeſty, and his Subjects, which the more ſpeedily to effect, they have cauſed a Preſſe to be tranſported to *Yorke*, from whence ſeverall papers, and writings of that kinde are conveyed to all parts of the Kingdome, without the authority of the great ſeale, in an unuſuall and illegall manner, and without the advice of his Majeſties Privy Counſell, from the greater, and better part whereof having withdrawne himſelfe, aſwell as from his great Councell of parliament, he is thereby expoſed to the wicked and unfaithfull councells of ſuch as have made the wiſdome, and juſtice of the Parliament dangerous to themſelves, and this danger they labour to prevent by hiding their owne guilt, under the name and ſhadow of the King: infuſing into him their owne feares, and aſmuch as in them lies, aſperſing his royall perſon and honour with their owne infamy, from both which it hath alwayes been as much the care as it is the duty of the Parliament, to preſerve his Majeſty, and to fix the guilt of all evill actions and counſells, upon thoſe who have been the authors of them.

Amongſt divers writings of this kinde, wee the Lords and Commons in Parliament, have taken into our conſideration two printed papers; the firſt containing a declaration which they received from his Majeſtie in anſwer of that which was preſented to his Majeſty from both Houſes of Parliament at *Newmarket* the ninth of March. 1641. The other his Majeſties anſwer to the petition of both Houſes preſented to his Majeſty at *Yorke* the 26 of *March*. 1642. Both which are filled with harſh cenſures, and cauſeleſſe charges upon the Parliament concerning which we hold it neceſſary to give ſatisfaction to the Kingdome, ſeeing we find it very difficult to ſatisfy his Majeſty, who to our great griefe, we have found to be ſo ingaged to, and poſſeſſed by thoſe miſapprehenſions which evill counſellors have wrought in him, that our moſt humble and faithfull Remonſtrances, have rather irritated and imbit-

imbittered, then any thing allayed or mitigated the ſharpe expreſſions which his Majeſty hath been pleaſed to make in anſwer unto them, for the manifeſtation whereof, and of our owne innocency, wee deſire that all his Majeſties loving ſubjects may take notice of theſe particulars.

We know no occaſion given by us which might move his Majeſty to tell us that in our declaration preſented at Newmarket, there were ſome expreſſions different from the uſuall language to Princes.

Neither did we tell his Maieſty either in words or in effect, that if he did not joyne with us in an Act which his Maieſty conceived might prove prejudiciall, and dangerous to himſelfe, and the whole kingdome, we would make a Law without him, and impoſe it upon the people. That which we deſired, was, that in regard of the imminent danger of the Kingdome, the Militia, for the ſecurity of his Majeſty, and his people, might be put under the command of ſuch noble and faithfull perſons, as they had all cauſe to confide in, and ſuch was the neceſſity of this preſervation, that we declared, that if his Majeſty ſhould refuſe to joyne with us therein, the two Houſes of Parliament being the ſupreame Court and higheſt councell of the Kingdome, were enabled by their owne authority to provide for the repulſing of ſuch imminent, and evident danger, not by any new Law of their owne making as hath been untruly ſuggeſted to his Majeſty, but by the moſt antient Law of this Kingdom, even that which is fundamentall and eſſentiall to the conſtitution and ſubſiſtance of it.

Although we never deſired to encourage his Majeſty to ſuch replies as might produce any conteſtation betwixt him and his Parliament, of which wee never found better effect, then loſſe of time, and hindrance of the publique affaires; Yet We have beene farre from telling him of how little value his words would be with us, much leſſe when they are accompanied with actions of Love and Juſtice, His Majeſty hath more reaſon to finde fault with thoſe wicked counſellours, who have ſo often bereaved him of the honour, and his people of the fruit, of many gracious Speeches, which hee made to them, ſuch as thoſe in the end of the laſt parliament; That in the word of a King, and as he was a Gentleman he would redreſſe the grievances of his People aſwell out of Parliament as in it, were the ſearching the Studies and Chambers, yea, the Pockets of ſome, both of the Nobility, and Commons the very next day; The Commitment of Maſter *Bellaſis*, Sir *John Hotham*, and Maſter *Crew*, the continued oppreſſions by Shipmoney, Coat and Conduct money, with the manifold impriſon-

 ments,

ments, and other vexations thereupon, and other enſuing violations of the Lawes and Liberties of the Kingdome, (all which were the effects of evill counſell, and aboundantly declared in our generall Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdome) actions of love and Juſtice, ſuitable to ſuch words as thoſe.

As gracious was his Majeſties Speech in the beginning of this Parliament; That he was reſolved to put himſelfe freely, and cleerly upon the Love and affection of his Engliſh Subjects, whether his cauſeleſſe complaints and Jealouſie, the unjuſt imputations ſo often caſt upon his Parliament, his deniall of their neceſſary defence by the Ordinance of the *Militia*, his dangerous abſenting himſelfe from his great councell, like to produce ſuch a miſchievous diviſion in the Kingdome have not beene more ſutable to other mens evill counſells then to his owne words, will eaſily appeare to any indifferent Judgement.

Neither have his latter ſpeeches beene better uſed, and preſerved by theſe evill and wicked counſellors: could any words be fuller of Love, and Juſtice then thoſe in his anſwer to the Meſſage ſent, to the Houſe of Commons the 31th of *December* 1641. We doe engage unto you ſolemnly the word of a King that the ſecurity of all, and every one of you from violence, is and ever ſhall be as much our care, as the preſervation of Us and our children. and could any actions be fuller of injuſtice and violence then that of the Attorney generall, in falſely accuſing the ſix Members of Parliament, and the other proceedings thereupon, within three or fower dayes after that Meſſage, for the full view whereof let the declaration made of thoſe proceedings be peruſed, and by thoſe inſtances (we could ad many more) Let the world Judge, who deſerves to be taxed with diſvalewing his Majeſties Words, they who have as much as in them lies, ſtaynd and ſullied them with ſuch fowle counſells, or the Parliament, who have ever manifeſted with joy, and delight their humble thankfulneſſe for thoſe gracious words, and actions of love, and Juſtice, which have been conformable thereunto.

The King is pleaſed to diſavow the having any ſuch evill Counſell or Counſellors as are mentioned in our Declaration to his knowledge, and we hold it our duty, humbly to avow there are ſuch, or elſe we muſt ſay, that all the ill things done of late in his Majeſties name, have beene done by himſelfe, wherein we ſhould neither follow the direction of the Law nor the affection of our owne hearts, which is as much as may be to cleere his Majeſtie from all imputation of misgovernment, and to lay the fault upon his Miniſters; the falſe accuſing of ſix members of Parliament, the

Juſtifying

Juſtifying Mr. Atturney in that falſe accuſation, the violent comming to the houſe of Commons, the deniall of the Militia, the ſharpe Meſſages to both houſes, contrary to the Cuſtomes of former Kings, the long and remote abſence of his Majeſtie from Parliament; the heavy and wrongfull taxes upon both houſes, the Cheriſhing and countenancing a diſcontented party in the Kingdome againſt them, theſe certainly are the fruits of very ill Counſell, apt to put the kingdome into a Combuſtion, to hinder the ſupplies of Ireland, and to countenance the proceedings and pretententions of the Rebells there, and the Authors of theſe evill Counſells, we conceive muſt needs be knowne to his Majeſty, and we hope our labouring with his Majeſty, to have theſe diſcovered, and brought to a juſt cenſure, will not ſo much wound his honour in the opinion of his good Subjects, as his labouring to preſerve and conceale them.

And whereas his Majeſtie ſaith, he could wiſh that his owne immediate Actions which he avowes on his owne honour, might not bee ſo roughly cenſured under that Common ſtyle of evill Counſellors: Wee could alſo heartily wiſh that we had not cauſe to make that ſtile ſo Common, but how often and undutifully ſoever theſe wicked Counſellors fix their diſhonour upon the King, by making his Majeſty the Authour of thoſe evill actions, which are the effects of their owne evill Counſells; We his Majeſties Loyall and dutifull ſubjects can uſe no other ſtile according to that *Maxime* in the Law, the King can doe no wrong, but if any ill be committed in matter of ſtate, the Councell; if in matters of Juſtice, the Judges muſt anſwer for it.

We lay no charge upon his Majeſtie, which ſhould put him upon that apologie, concerning his faithfull and zealous affection of the proteſtant profeſſion; Neither doth his Majeſtie endeavour to cleere thoſe, in greateſt authority about him, by whom (wee ſay) that deſigne hath been potently carried on for divers yeares, and we rather wiſh that the mercies of heaven then the Judgements may be manifeſted upon them, but that there have beene ſuch, there are ſo plentifull and frequent evidences, that we beleeve there is none either proteſtant or Papiſt, who hath had any reaſonable view of the paſſages of latter times, but either in feare or hope, did expect a ſuddaine iſſue of this deſigne.

We have no way tranſgreſſed againſt the Act of Oblivion, by Remembring the intended warre againſt Scotland, as a Branch of that deſigne to alter religion, by thoſe wicked Councells, from which God did then deliver us, which we ought never to forget.

That the Rebellion in Ireland was framed and cheriſht by the Popiſh and Malignant party in England, is not only affirmed by the Rebells,

but may be cleered by many other proofes ; The ſame Rebellious principles of pretended Religion, the ſame politique ends are apparant in both, and their malitious deſignes and practices are maskt, and diſguiſed with the ſame falſe colour of their earneſt zeale to vindicate his Majeſties prerogative from the ſuppoſed oppreſſion of the Parliament, how much theſe treacherous pretences have beene countenanced by ſome evill Counſell about his Majeſtie may appeare in this, that the Proclamation, whereby they were declared traytors was ſo long withheld as to the ſecond of *Ianuary*, though the Rebellion broake forth in *October* before, and then no more but forty Coppies appointed to be printed, with a ſpeciall command from his Majeſtie not to exceed that number, and that none of them ſhould be publiſhed till his Majeſties pleaſure were further ſignified. as by the warrant appeares, a true Coppie whereof is hereunto added, So that a few only could take notice of it, which was made more obſerveable, by the late contrary proceedings againſt the Scots, who were in a very quick and ſharpe manner proclaimed, and thoſe proclamations forthwith diſperſed, with as much diligence as might bee thorow all the Kingdome, and ordered to bee read in all Churches, accompanied with publique prayers and execrations ; another evidence of favour, and countenance to the Rebells in ſome of power about his Majeſtie is this, that they have put forth in his Majeſties name, a cauſleſſe complaint againſt the Parliament ; which ſpeaketh the ſame language of the Parliament which the Rebells doe, thereby to raiſe a beleefe in mens mindes, that his Majeſties affections are alienated, as well as his perſon is removed from that his great councell, All which doth exceedingly retard the ſupplies of *Ireland*, and more advance the proceedings of the Rebells, then any Jealouſie or miſapprehenſion begotten in his Subjects, by the declaration of the Rebells Iniunction of *Roſſetti*, or information of *Treſtram Whitcombe*, ſo that conſidering the preſent ſtate and temper of both kingdomes, his Royall preſence is farre more neceſſary here, then it can be in Ireland, for redemption or protection of his Subjects there.

His Majeſtie not charged with intention of any force.

And whether there be any cauſe of his Majeſties great indignation for being reproch'd to have intended force or threatening to the Parliament : We deſire them to conſider who ſhall read our declaration in which there is no word tending to any ſuch reproach, and certainly wee have beene more tender of his Majeſties honour in this point, then hee whoſoever he was that did write this declaration, where in his Majeſties name, hee doth call God to witneſſe, hee never had any ſuch thought or knew of any ſuch reſolution of bringing up the Army, which truly, will

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ſeeme ſtrange to thoſe, who ſhall read the depoſition of Maſter *Goring*, Information of Maſter *Percie*, and divers other examinations of Maſter *Wilmot*; Maſter *Pollard* and others, the other examination of Captaine *Legg*, Sir *Iacob Aſhley*, Sir *John Conyers*, and conſider the condition and nature of the Petition, which was ſent unto Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, under the approbation of *C. R.* which his Majeſty doth now acknowledge to bee his owne hand, and being full of ſcandall to the Parliament, might have proved dangerous to the whole kingdome, if the Army ſhould have interpoſed betwixt the King and them, as was deſired.

Mr. Iermins eſcape by his Majeſties warrant.

We doe not affirme that his Majeſties warrant was granted for the Paſſage of Maſter *Iermine*, after the deſire of both houſes for reſtraint of his Servants, but only that he did paſſe over after that reſtraint by vertue of ſuch a warrant. We know the warrant beares date the day before our deſire, yet it ſeemes ſtrange to thoſe who know how great reſpect and Power Mr. *Iermine* had in Court, that he ſhould beginne his Journey in ſuch haſt, and in apparrell ſo unfit for Travaile, as a black Sattin ſuit, and White Bootes, if his going away were deſigned the day before.

Accuſation of the Lo. Kimbolton &c.

The Accuſation of the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five members of the houſe of Commons is called a breach of priviledge, and truly ſo it was, and a very high one, farre above any ſatisfaction that hath beene yet given, how can it be ſaid to be largely ſatisfied, ſo long as his Majeſtie laboured to preſerve Mr. Attorney from puniſhment; who was the viſible Actor in it, ſo long as his Majeſties hath not only Juſtified him, but by his letter declared, that it was his duty to accuſe them, and that hee would have puniſht him, if he had not done it, So long as thoſe members have not the meanes of cleering their Innocency, and the Authors of that malitious charge undiſcovered, though both houſes of Parliament have ſeverall times petition his Majeſtie to diſcover them, & that not only upon grounds of Common Juſtice, but by Act of Parliament; his Majeſtie is bound to doe it, ſo long as the King refuſeth to paſſe a Bill for their diſcharge, alleadging that the Narrative in that Bill, is againſt his honour, whereby hee ſeemes ſtill to avow the matter of that falſe, and ſcandalous accuſation, though he deſerts the proſecution, offering to paſſe a Bill for their acquitall, yet with intimation that they muſt deſert the avowing their owne innocency, which would more wound them in honour, then ſecure them in Law.

And in vindication of this great priviledge of Parliament, wee doe not know that we have invaded any priviledge belonging to his Majeſtie, as is alleadged in this declaration.

But we looke not upon this only in the Notion of a breach of priviledge

ledge, which might be, though the accuſation were true, or falſe, but under the Notion of a haynous crime, in the attorney and all other Subjects, who had a hand in it, a Crime againſt the law of nature, againſt the rules of Iuſtice, that innocent men ſhould be charged with ſo great an offence as Treaſon, in the face of the higheſt Iudicatory of the Kingdome, whereby their lives and eſtates, their bloud and honour are endangered, without witnes, without evidence, without all poſſibility of reparation, in a Legall Courſe, yet a crime of ſuch a nature, that his Majeſties command can no more warrant, then it can any other Act of Iniuſtice. it is true that thoſe things which are evill in their owne nature, ſuch as a falſe teſtimony or falſe accuſation, cannot be the Subiect of any Command, or induce any obligation of obedience upon any man, by any authority whatſoever, therefore the Atturney in this caſe, was bound to refuſe to execute ſuch a command, unleſſe he had had ſome ſuch evidence or Teſtimony as might have warranted him againſt the parties, and be lyable to make ſatisfaction if it ſhould prove falſe, and it is ſufficiently knowne to every man, and adiudged in Parliament, that the King can be neither relater, informer nor witneſſe, if it reſt as it is without further ſatisfaction, no future Parliament can be ſafe, but that the members may bee taken, and deſtroyed at pleaſure, yea the very principles of government, and Iuſtice wil bee in danger to bee diſſolved.

Tumultuous numbers.

We doe not conceive that numbers doe make an aſſemblie unlawfull, but when either the end or manner of their Carriage, ſhall be unlawfull, divers iuſt occaſions might draw the Citizens to Weſtminſter, where many publique and private Petitions, and other Cauſes were depending in Parliament, and why that ſhould bee found more faultie in the Citizens, then the reſort of great numbers every day in the tearme to the ordinary Courts of Iuſtice we know not; that thoſe Citizens were notoriouſly provoked and aſſaulted at VVeſtminſter, by Colonell *Limſford*, Captaine *Hide*, with divers others, and by ſome of the ſervants of the Arch-Biſhop of Yorke is ſufficiently proved, and that afterward they were more violently wounded and moſt barbarouſly mangled with Swords by the Officers and Souldiers neere *VVhite-Hall*, many of them being without weapons, and giving no cauſe of diſtaſt, as is likewiſe proved by ſeverall teſtimonies, but of any ſcandalous or ſeditious miſdemeanors of theirs, that might give his Majeſty good cauſe to ſuppoſe his own perſon or thoſe of his Royall Conſort, or Children to be in apparant danger, we have had no proofe ever offered to either Houſe, and if there had been any complaint of that kinde, it is noe doubt the Houſes would have bene as forward to joyne in an order for the

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ſuppreſſing of ſuch Tumults as they were, not long before upon another occaſion when they made an order to that purpoſe. Whereas thoſe Officers and Souldiers which committed that violence upon ſo many of the Citizens at *Whitehall*, were cheriſht and foſtred in his Majeſties Houſe, and when not long after, the Common Councel of *London* preſented a Petition to his Majeſty, for reparation of thoſe injuries, his Majeſties Anſwer was (without hearing the proofe of the complainants) that if any Citizen were wounded or ill intreated, his Majeſty was confidently aſſured, that it happened by their owne evill and corrupt demeanors.

We hope it cannot be thought contrary to the duty and wiſedome of a Parliament, if many concurring and frequently reitterated and renewed advertizements from *Rome*, *Venice*, *Paris*, and other parts, if the ſolicitation of the Popes *Nuntio* and our owne diſcontented fugitives, doe make us jealous and watchfull for the ſafety of the State. And We have beene very carefull to make our expreſſions thereof, ſo eaſe and ſo plaine: to the capacity and underſtanding of the people, that nothing might juſtly ſtick with them, with reflection upon the Perſon of his Majeſty. Wherein We appeale to the judgement of any indifferent perſon, who ſhall read and peruſe our owne Words.

We muſt maintaine the ground of our feares, to be of that moment, that We cannot diſcharge the truſt and duty which lyes upon us, unleſſe Wee doe apply our ſelves to the uſe of thoſe meanes, to which the Law hath enabled us in caſes of this nature, for the neceſſary defence of the Kingdom, and as his Majeſty doth graciouſly declare the Law ſhall be the Meaſure of his power, ſo doe We moſt heartily profeſſe, that We ſhall alwayes make it the rule of our obedience.

Prudent omiſſions in the Anſwer.

The next poynt of our Declaration was with much caution artificially paſſed over by him who drew his Majeſties Anſwer, it being indeed the foundation of all our miſery and his Majeſties trouble, that he is pleaſed to heare generall taxes upon his Parliament, without any particular charge to which they may give ſatisfaction, & that he hath often conceived diſpleaſure againſt particular perſons upon miſinformation, & although thoſe informations have bin clearly proved to be falſe, yet he would never bring the accuſers to queſtion, which layeth an impoſſibility upon honeſt men of clearing themſelves, and gives incouragement unto falſe and unworthy perſons to trouble him with untrue and groundleſſe informations. Three particulars we mentioned in our Declaration, which the Penner of that Anſwer had good cauſe to omit: the words ſuppoſed to be ſpoken at *Kenſington*, the pretended Articles againſt the Queen, and the groundleſſe

lesse accusation of the six Members of the Parliament, there being nothing to be said in defence or deniall of any of them

Concerning his Maiesties desire to joyne with his Parliament, and with his faithfull Subiects in defence of Religion, and publike good of the Kingdome; we doubt not but he will doe it fully when evill Counsellors shall be removed from about him, & untill that be, as we shewed before of words, so must we also say of Lawes, that they cannot secure us; witnesse the Petition of Right, which was followed with such an inundation of illegall taxes that we had iust cause to thinke that the payment of eight hundred and twenty thousand pounds was an easie burthen to the Common-wealth in exchange of them, and we cannot but iustly thinke that if there be a continuance of such ill Counsellors and favour to them, they will by some wicked device or other, make the Bill for the Triennial Parliament, and those other excellent Lawes mentioned in his Maiesties Declaration, of lesse value then words.

That excellent Bill for the continuance of this Parliament was so necessary, that without it we could not have raised so great sums of money for the service of his Maiesty & the Common-wealth as we have done, and without which the ruine and destruction of the Kingdom must needs have followed. And we are resolved, the gracious favour of his Maiesty expressed in that Bill, and the advantage and security which thereby we have from being dissolved shall not incourage us to doe any thing, which otherwise had not beene fit to have beene done. And we are ready to make it good before all the world, that although his Maiesty hath passed many Bills very advantagious for the Subiect, yet in none of them have we bereaved his Maiesty of any iust necessary, or profitable Prerogative of the Crowne.

We so earnestly desire his Maiesties returne to *London* that upon it, we conceive depends the very safety and being of both his Kingdomes. And therefore we must protest, that as for the time past, neither the government of *London*, nor any Lawes of the Land, have lost their life and force for his security; So for the future, we shall be ready to doe or say any thing that may stand with the duty or honour of a Parliament, which may raise a mutuall confidence betwixt his Maiesty and us, as wee doe wish, and as the affaires of the Kingdome doe require.

Thus far the Answer to that which is called his Maiesties Declaration hath led us, now we come to that which is Intituled his Maiesties Answer to the Petition of both Houses, presented to him at *Yorke* the 26 of *March*, 1642. In the beginning whereof, his Maiesty wisheth that our Privileges on all parts were so Stated, that this way of correspon-

dency might be preſerved, with that freedome which hath beene uſed of old; we know nothing introduced by us, that gives any impediment hereunto, neither have we affirmed our Priviledges to be broken, when his Maieſty denies us any thing, or gives a reaſon why he cannot grant it, or that thoſe who adviſed ſuch denyall were enemies to the peace of the Kingdome, and favourers of the Iriſh Rebellion, in which aſperſion, that is turned into a general aſerſion, which in our Votes is applyed to a particular caſe, wherefore we muſt maintaine our Votes, that thoſe who adviſed his Maieſty to contradict that which in both Houſes in the Queſtion concernig the Militia, had declared to be Law, and command it ſhould not be obeyed, is a high breach of priviledge, and that thoſe who adviſed his Maieſty to abſent himſelfe from his Parliament, are enemies to the peace of the Kingdome, and iuſtly to be ſuſpected to be favourers of the Rebellion in *Ireland*. the reaſons of both are evident, becauſe in the firſt, there is as great a derogation from the truſt and authority of Parliament; and in the ſecond, as much advantage to the proceedings and hopes of the Rebels, as may be, and we hold it a very cauſeleſſe imputation upon the Parliament, that we have herein any way impeacht, much leſſe taken away the freedome of his Majeſties Vote, which doth not import a liberty for his Majeſty to deny any thing, how neceſſary ſoever for the preſervation of the Kingdome, much leſſe a Licence to evill Counſellors, to adviſe any thing though never ſo deſtructive to his Majeſty, and his people.

By the Meſſage of the twentieth of *Ianuary*, his Maieſty did propound to both Houſes of Parliament, that they would with all ſpeed fall into a ſerious conſideration of all thoſe particulars which they thoght neceſſary as well for the upholding and maintaining his Majeſties juſt and Regall authority, and for the ſetling his Revenue, as for the preſent and future eſtabliſhing our Priviledges, the free and quiet enjoying our eſtates, the Liberties of our Perſons, the ſecurity of the true Religion profeſſed in the Church of *England*, and the ſetling of Ceremonies in ſuch a manner as may take away all juſt offence, and to dig ſt it into one entire body.

To that point of upholding and maintaining his Royall authority, We ſay nothing hath been done to the prejudice of it, that ſhould require any new proviſion; To the other of ſetling the revenue, the Parliament hath no way abridged or diſordered his juſt revenue, but it is true that much waſt and confuſion of his Majeſties eſtate hath beene made by thoſe evill and unfaithfull Miniſters whom he hath imployed in the managing of it, whereby his owne ordinary expences would have beene diſappointed, and the ſafety of the Kingdome more endangered, if the Parliament had

had not in ſome meaſure provided for his Houſehold, and for ſome of the Forts, more then they were bound to doe, and they are ſtill willing to ſettle ſuch a revenue upon his Majeſtie as may make him live Royally, plentifully and ſafely, but they cannot in wiſdome and fidelity to the Common-Wealth, doe this, till he ſhall chuſe ſuch Counſellours and Officers as may order and diſpoſe it to the publicke good, and not apply it to the ruine and deſtruction of his people as heretofore it hath beene, but this and the other matters concerning Our ſelves, being workes of great importance, and full of intricacie, will require ſo long a time of deliberation, that the Kingdome might be ruined before Wee ſhould effect them, wherefore We thought it neceſſary, firſt to be ſuitors to his Majeſtie ſo to order the Militia, that the Kingdome being ſecured, Wee might with more eaſe and ſafety apply our ſelves to debate of that Meſſage wherein We have beene interrupted by his Majeſties denyal of the Ordinance concerning the ſame, becauſe it would have beene in vaine for Us to labour in other things, and in the meane time to leave our ſelves naked to the malice of ſo many enemies, both at home and abroad, yet We have not beene altogether negligent of thoſe things which his Majeſtie is pleaſed to propound in that Meſſage, We have agreed upon a Booke of Rates in a larger Proportion then hath beene granted to any of his Majeſties Predeceſſors, which is a conſiderable ſupport of his Majeſties publicke charge, and have likewiſe prepared divers Propoſitions and Bills for preſervation of our Religion and liberties, which We intend ſhortly to preſent to his Majeſtie, and to doe whatſoever is fit for Us to make up this unpleaſant breach betwixt his Majeſtie and the Parliament.

Whereas divers exceptions are here taken concerning the Militia, firſt, that his Majeſtie never denyed the thing, but accepted the perſons, (except for Corporations) onely that hee denyed the way, to which We anſwer, that that exception takes off *London*, and all other great Townes and Cities, which makes a great part of the Kingdome, and for the way of Ordinance it is antient, more ſpeedy, more eaſily alterable, and in all theſe and other reſpects, more proper and more applicable to the preſent occaſion, then a Bil, which his Majeſtie cals the only good old way of impoſing upon the ſubjects, It ſhould ſeeme that neither his Majeſties Royall Predeceſſors, nor our Anceſtors, have heretofore beene of that opinion, 37 *Ed.* 3. Wee find this Record: the Chauncelour made declaration of the Challenge of the Parliament, the King deſires to know the griefes of his Subjects, and to redreſſe inormities. The laſt day of the Parliament the King demanded of the whole Eſtates, whether

whether they would have ſuch things as they agreed on, by way of Ordinance or Statute, who Anſweared by way of Ordinance, for that they might amend the ſame at their pleaſures, and ſo it was.

But his Majeſtie obiects further, that there is ſomewhat in the preface, to which he could not conſent with Juſtice, to his honour and innocence, and that thereby he is excluded from any power in the diſpoſing of it: theſe objections may ſeeme ſomewhat, but indeed will appeare nothing, when it ſhall be conſidered, that nothing in the Preamble lyes any charge upon his Majeſtie, or in the body of the Ordinance, that excludes his Royall Authority in the diſpoſing or execution of it, But only it is provided that it ſhould be ſignified by both Houſes of Parliament, as that channell through which it will be beſt derived, and moſt certainely, to thoſe ends for which it is intended, and let all the world judge, whether Wee have not reaſon to inſiſt upon it, that the ſtrength of the Kingdome ſhould rather be ordered according to the direction or advice of the great Councell of the Land, equally intruſted by the King and by the Kingdome, then that the ſafety of the King, Parliament and Kingdome ſhould bee left at the devotion of a few unknowne Counſellours, many of them not intruſted at all by the King in any publike way, nor at all confided in by the Kingdome.

We wiſh the danger were not imminent, or not ſtill continuing, but cannot conceive that the long time ſpent in this debate is evidence ſufficient, that there was no ſuch neceſſity or danger, but a Bill might eaſilie have bin prepared, for when many cauſes doe concurre to the danger of a State, the interruption of any one may hinder the execution of the reſt, and yet the deſigne be ſtill kept on foot for better oportunities: who knowes whether the ill ſucceſſe of the Rebels in Ireland hath not hindred the inſurrection of the Papiſts here? whether the preſervation of the ſix Members of the Parliament, falſely accuſed, hath not prevented that plot of the breaking the neck of the Parliament, of which wee were informed from France, not long before they were accuſed? yet ſince his *Majeſty* hath bin pleaſed to expreſſe his pleaſure, rather for a Bill then an Ordinance, and that he ſent in one for that purpoſe, wee readily entertained it, and with ſome ſmall and neceſſary alterations, ſpeedily paſſed the ſame: But contrary to the cuſtome of Parliament, and our expectation grounded upon his *Majeſties* owne invitation of us to that way, and the other reaſons manifeſted in our Declaration, concerning the *Militia*, of the fifth of *May*, inſteed of his Royall aſſent, we met with an abſolute refuſall.

If the matter of theſe our Votes. 15, and 16 of *March*, be according

to Law, we hope his Maieſtie will allow the Subiects to be bound by them, becauſe he hath ſaid he will make the Law the Rule of his Power, and if the queſtion be whether that bee Law which the Lords and Commons have once declared to be ſo, who ſhall be the Iudge? Not his Maiesty, for the King iudgeth not of matters of Law, but by his Courts, and his Courts, though ſitting by his authority, expect not his Aſſent in matters of Law, not any other Courts, for they cannot Iudge in that caſe becauſe they are Inferiour, no appeale lying to them from Parliament, the Iudgement whereof is in the eye of the Law, the Kings Iudgement in his higheſt Court, though the King in his perſon be neither preſent nor aſſenting thereunto.

The Votes at which his Maieſty takes exceptions are theſe.

I.

That the Kings abſence ſo far remote from the Parliament, is not onely an obſtruction, but may be a deſtruction to the Affairs of Ireland.

II.

That when the Lords and Commons ſhall declare what the Law of the Land is, to have this not onely queſtioned, and controverted, but contradicted, and a command that it ſhould not be obeyed, is a high breach of the priviledge of Parliament.

III.

That thoſe perſons that adviſed his Maieſty to abſent himſelfe from the Parliament, are enemies to the Peace of the Kingdome, and iuſtly may be ſuſpected to be favourers of the Rebellion in Ireland.

That the Kingdome hath bin of late, and ſtill is in ſo eminent danger both from enemies abroad, and a Popiſh and diſcontented partie at home, that there is an urgent and inevitable neceſſity of putting his Maieſties ſubiects into a poſture of defence, for the ſafeguard both of his Maieſty, and his people,

That the Lords and Commons fully apprehending this danger, and being ſenſible of their owne dury, to provide a ſutable prevention, have in ſeverall Petitions addreſſed themſelves to his Majeſty

Majesty, for the ordering and disposing the Militia of the Kingdome, in such a way as was agreed upon by the Wisedome of both Houses to be most effectuall and proper for the present exigents of the Kingdome, yet could not obtaine it, but his Majestie did severall times refuse to give his Royall Assent thereunto.

That in this case of extreame danger, and his Majesties refusall the Ordinance of Parliament agreed upon by both Houses for the Militia, doth oblige the people, and ought to be obeyed by the fundamentall Lawes of this Kingdome.

By all which it doth appeare that there is no Colour of this Tax, that we goe about to introduce a new Law, much lesse to exercise an arbitrary power, but indeed to prevent it, for this Law is as old as the Kingdome. That the Kingdome must not be without a meanes to preserve it selfe, which that it may be done without confusion, this Nation hath intrusted certaine hands with a Power to provide in an orderly and regular way, for the good and safety of the whole, which power, by the Constitution of this Kingdome, is in his Majesty, and in his Parliament together, yet since the Prince being but one person, is more subject to accidents of nature and chance, whereby the Common-Wealth may be deprived of the fruit of that trust which was in part reposed in him, in cases of such necessity, that the Kingdome may not bee inforced presently to returne to its first principles, and every man left to do what is aright in his own eye, without either guide or rule. The Wisdome of this State hath intrusted the Houses of Parliament with a power to supply what shall be wanting on the part of the Prince, as is evident by the constant custome and practice thereof, in cases of nonage, naturall disability, and captivity, and the like reason doth and must hold for the exercise of the same power in such cases, where the Royall trust cannot be, or is not discharged, and that the Kingdome runs an evident and imminent danger thereby, which danger having beene declared by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, there needs not the authority of any person or Court to affirme, nor is it in the power of any person or Court to revoke that judgement.

We

We know the King hath wayes enough in his ordinary Courts of justice to punish such seditious Pamphlets and Sermons as are any way prejudiciall to his Rights, Honour, & authority; and if any of them have beene so insolently violated and vilified, his Majesties owne Councell and Officers have been too blame, and not the Parliament; we never did restraine any proceedings of that kind in other Courts, nor refuse any fit complaint to us. The Protestation Protested was referred by the Commons House to a Committee, and the Author being not produced, the Printer committed to prison, and the Booke voted by that Committee, to be burnt; but Sir *Edward Deering* who was to make that report of the Votes of that Committee, neglected to make it; The Apprentizes Protestation was never complained of, but the other seditious Pamphlet, To your Tents oh *Israel* was once questioned and the full prosecution of it was not interrupted by any fault of either House, whose forwardnesse to doe his Majesty all right, therein may plainely appeare, in that a Committee of Lords and Commons was purposely appoynted to take such informations as the Kings Councell should present, concerning seditious words, practises or tumults, Pamphelets or Sermons, tending to the derogation of his Majesties Rights, or Prerogative; and his Councell were enjoyned by that Committee, to enquire and present them, who severall times met thereupon, and received this Answer and Declaration from the Kings Councell, that they knew of no such thing as yet.

If his Majesty had used the service of such a one in penning this Answer, who understood the Lawes, and government of this Kingdome, hee would not have thought it legally in his power to deny his Parliament a guard, when they stood in need of it, since everie ordinary Court hath it; neither would his Majestie, if he had beene well informed of the Lawes, have refused a guard as they desired, it being in the power of inferior Courts to command their owne guard, neither would he have imposed upon them such a guard under a Commander, which they could not confide in; which is clearely against the *Priviledges of Parliament*, and of which they found very dangerous effects, and therefore desired to have it discharged; but

But such a guard and so commanded, as the Houses of Parliament desired, they could never obtain of his Majestie, and the placing of a guard about them contrary to their desire, was not to grant a guard to them, but in effect to set one upon them: All which considered, we beleeve in the judgements of any indifferent persons, it will not be thought strange if there were a more then ordinarie resort of people at *Westminster*, of such as came willingly of their own accord to be witnesses and helpers of the safetie of them whom all his Majesties good subjects are bound to defend from violence and danger: or that such a concourse as this, they carrying themselves quietly and peaceably (as they did) ought in his Majesties apprehension, or can in the interpretation of the Law, be held tumultuarie and seditious.

When his Majestie in that question of violation of the Laws had expressed the observation of them indefinitely without any limitation of time, although we never said or thought any thing that might look like a reproach to his Majestie, yet we had reason to remember that it had been otherwise; lest we should seem to desert our former Complaints and proceedings: thereupon as his Majestie doth seem but little to like or approve of them: for although he doth acknowledge here that great mischief that grew by that arbitrary power then complained of, yet such are continually preferred and countenanced as were friends or favourers, or related unto the chief Authors and Actors of that Arbitrarie Power, and of those false colours, suggestions of imminent danger and necessitie, whereby they did make it plausible unto his Majestie; and on the other side, such as did appeare against them, are daily discountenanced and disgraced: which whilest it shall be so, we have no reason to judge the disease to be yet killed and dead at root; and therefore no reason to bury it in oblivion. And whilest we behold the Spawnes of those mischievous Principles, cherisht and fostered in that new generation of Councellours, friends and Abettors of the former, or at least concurring with them in their malignancie against the proceedings of this Parliament, we cannot think our selves secure from the like or a worse danger.

And here the Penner of this Answer bestows an admoni-

tion upon the Parliament, bidding us take heed we fall not upon the ſame errour, upon the ſame ſuggeſtions: but he might have well ſpared this, till he could have ſhewed wherein we had exerciſed any power otherwiſe then by the rule of the Law, or could have found a more authentique or a higher Judge in matters of Law, then the high Court of Parliament.

It is declared in his Majeſties name, that he is reſolved to keep the rule himſelf, and to his power to require the ſame of all others: we muſt needs acknowledge that ſuch a reſolution is like to bring much happineſſe and bleſſing to his Majeſtie, and all his Kingdoms; yet with humilitie we muſt confeſſe, we have not the fruit of it, in that Caſe of my Lord *Kimbolton*, and the other five Members accuſed contrary to Law, both Common Law, and the Statute Law, and yet remaineth unſatisfied; which Caſe was remembred in our Declaration as a ſtrange and unheard of violation of our Laws: But the Penner of this Anſwer thought fit to paſſe it over, hoping that many would read his Majeſties Anſwer, which hath been ſo carefully diſperſed, which would not read our Declaration.

Whereas after our ample thanks, and acknowledgement of his Majeſties favour in paſſing many good Bills, we ſaid that truth and neceſſitie inforced us to adde this, that in or about the time of paſſing thoſe Bills, ſome deſigne or other hath been a foot; which if it had taken effect, would not onely have deprived us of the fruit of thoſe Bils, but would have reduced us to a worſe condition of confuſion, then that wherein the Parliament found us. It is now told us that the King muſt be moſt ſenſible of what we caſt upon him, for requitall of thoſe good Bills, whereas out of our uſuall Tendernеſſe of his Majeſties Honour, we did not mention him at all: but ſo injurious are thoſe wicked Councellours to the name and Honour of their Maſter and Soveraigne, that as much as they can they lay their own infamy and guilt upon his Shoulders.

Here God alſo is called to witneſſe His Majeſties upright intentions at the paſſing of thoſe Laws; this we will not queſtion, neither did we give any occaſion of ſuch a ſolemne aſſeveration as this is: The devill is likewiſe defied to prove there was any deſigne with His Majeſties knowledge or privitie;

This

This might well have been ſpared, for we ſpake nothing of his Majeſtie; But ſince we are ſo far taxed as to have it affirmed that we laid a notorious and falſe imputation upon His Majeſtie, we have thought it neceſſarie for the juſt defence of our own innocencie, to cauſe the oaths and examinations which have been taken concerning the deſigne to be publiſhed in a full Narration, for ſatisfaction of all His Majeſties ſubjects, out of which we ſhall now offer ſome few particulars, whereby the world may judge whether we could have proceeded with more tenderneſſe toward His Majeſtie then we have done. Maſter *Goreing* confeſſeth, that the King firſt asked him whether he were ingaged in any Caball concerning the Army, and commanded him to joyn with Maſter *Piercy* and Maſter *Jermyn*, and ſome other whom they ſhould find within at Maſter *Peircy's* Chamber, where they took the oath of ſecrecie, and then debated of a deſigne propounded by Maſter *Jermyn* to ſecure the Tower, and to conſider of bringing up the Army to *London*, and Captain *Legg* confeſſed, he had received the draught of a Petition in the Kings preſence, and His Majeſtie acknowledgeth it was from His own hand; and whoſoever reads the ſumme of that Petition, as it was proved by the Teſtimony of Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, Sir *John Conyers*, and Captain *Legg*, will eaſily perceive ſome points in it apt to beget in them ſome diſcontent againſt the Parliament. And can any man beleeve there was no deſigne in the accuſation of the Lord *Kimbolton* and the reſt, in which His Majeſtie doth avow himſelf to be both a Commander and an Actor: theſe things being ſo, it will eaſily appear to be as much againſt the rules of Prudence, that the Penner of this Anſwer ſhould entangle His Majeſtie in this unneceſſarie Apologie; as it is againſt the rules of Juſtice, that any reparation from us ſhould be either yeelded, or demanded.

It is profeſſed in His Majeſties name, that he is truly ſenſible of the Burthens of His people, which makes us hope that he will take that courſe which will be moſt effectuall to eaſe them of theſe burthens, that is, to joyn with his Parliament in preſerving the peace of the Kingdom, which by his abſence from them hath been much endangered, and which by hindring the voluntarie Adventures for recovery of *Ireland*, and diſabling

the Subjects to discharge the great taxe laid upon them, is like to make the war much more heavie to the Kingdom. And for His Majesties wants, the Parliament have been no cause of them, we have not diminished His just Revenue, but have much eased His publique Charge, and somewhat his private. And we shall be readie, in a Parliamentary way, to settle His revenue in such an Honorable proportion, as may be answerable to both, when he shall put himself into such a posture of Government, that His Subjects may be secure to enjoy His just protection, for their Religion, Laws, and Liberties.

We never refused His Majesties gracious offer of a free and Generall Pardon, onely we said it could be no securitie to our present fears and jealousies: And we gave a reason for it, that those fears did not arise out of any guilt of our own Actions, but out of the evill designes and attempts of others; and we leave it to the world to judge, whether we herein have deserved so heavie a Tax and exclamation (that it was a strange world when Princes proffered favours are counted reproaches, such are the words of His Majesties Answer) who do esteeme that offer as an Act of Princely grace and bountie, which since this Parliament began we have humbly desired we might obtain, and do still hold it very necessarie and advantagious for the generalitie of the Subject, upon whom these Taxes and Subsidies lie heaviest, but we see upon every occasion how unhappie we are in His Majesties misapprehensions of our words and actions.

We are fully of the Kings mind as it is here declared, that he may rest so secure of the affections of His Subjects, that he should not stand in need of forraigne force to preserve him from oppression, and are confident that he shall never want an abundant evidence of the good wishes and assistance of His whole Kingdom, especially if he shall be pleased to hold to that gracious resolution of building upon that sure foundation, the Law of the Land: but why His Majestie should take it ill, that we having received informations so deeply concerning the safetie of the Kingdom, and should think them fit to be considered of, we cannot conceive; for although the name of the person was unknown, yet that which was more substantiall to the probabilitie of the Report was known (that is) that

That he was ſervant to the Lord *Digby*, who in his preſumptuous Letter to the Queenes Majeſty, and other Letters to Sir *Lewis Dives*, had intimated ſome wicked Propoſition ſuitable to that Information, but that this ſhould require reparation, wee hold it as farre from Juſtice as it is from truth, that wee have mixt any malice with theſe rumours, thereby to feed the feares and jealouſies of the People.

It is affirmed his Majeſtie is driven (but not by us yet) from us, perchance hereafter if there be opportunity of gaining more credit, there will not be wanting who will ſuggeſt unto his Majeſtie, that it is done by us. And if his Majeſtie were driven from us, wee hope it was not by his owne feares, but by the feares of the Lord *Digbie*, and his retinue of Cavaliers, and that no feares of any Tumultuary violence, but of their juſt puniſhment for their manifold inſolence and intended violence againſt the Parliament. And this is expreſſed by the Lord *Digby* himſelfe, when he told thoſe Cavaliers, that the principall cauſe of his Majeſties going out of Towne was to ſave them from being trampled in the durt; but of his Majeſties perſon there was no cauſe of feare in the greateſt heate of the peoples indignation after the accuſation, and his Majeſties violent comming to the Houſe, there was no ſhew of any evill intention againſt his Regall Perſon, of which there can be no better evidence then this, that he came the next day without a Guard into the Citie, where he heard nothing but Prayers and Petitions, no threatnings or irreverent ſpeeches, that might give him any juſt occaſion of feare, that wee have heard of, or that his Majeſtie expreſt; for he ſtayed neere a weeke after at *White Hall*, in a ſecure and peaceable condition, whereby wee are induced to beleeve, that there is no difficultie nor doubt at all, but his Majeſties reſidence neere *London* may be as ſafe as in any part of the Kingdome: We are moſt aſſured of the faithfulneſſe of the Citie and Suburbes; And for our ſelves wee ſhall quicken the vigour of the Lawes, the induſtry of the Magiſtrate, the authoritie of Parliament, for the ſuppreſſing of all tumultuary inſolencies whatſoever, and for the vindicating of his Honour from all inſupportable and inſolent ſcandalls, if any ſuch ſhall be found to be rayſed upon him, as are mentioned in this Anſwer, and therefore wee

thinke it altogether unneceſſary and exceeding inconvenient to adjourne the Parliament to any other place.

Where the deſire of a good underſtanding betwixt the King and the Parliament, is on both parts ſo earneſt as is here profeſt of his Majeſtie to be in him, and wee have ſufficiently teſtified to be in our ſelves, it ſeemes ſtrange wee ſhould be ſo long aſunder, it can be nothing elſe but evill and malicious Councell, miſrepreſenting our carriage to him, and indiſpoſing his favour to us, and as it ſhall be farre from us to take any advantage of his Majeſties ſuppoſed ſtraits, as to deſire much leſſe to compell him to that which his Honour or intereſt may render unpleaſant and grievous to him, ſo wee hope that his Majeſtie will not make his owne underſtanding or reaſon the rule of his Government, but will ſuffer himſelfe to be aſſiſted with a wiſe and prudent Councell, that may deale faithfully betwixt him and his people; And that he will remember that his reſolutions doe concerne Kingdomes, and therefore ought not to be moulded by his owne, much leſſe by any other private perſon, which is not alike proportionable to ſo great a truſt, and therefore we ſtill deſire and hope that his Majeſty will not be guided by his owne underſtanding, or to thinke thoſe Counſes ſtraights and neceſſities, to which he ſhall be adviſed by the Wiſdome of both Houſes of Parliament; which are the Eyes in this Politique Body, whereby his Majeſtie is by the Conſtitution of this Kingdome to diſcerne the differences of thoſe things which concerne the publike peace and ſafetie thereof.

Wee have given his Majeſtie no cauſe to ſay, that wee doe meanly value the diſcharge of His publique dutie, whatſoever Acts of Grace or Juſtice have been done, they proceeded from his Majeſtie by the advice and Councell of his Parliament; yet wee have and ſhall alwayes anſwer them with conſtant gratitude, obedience, and affection; and although many things have been done ſince this Parliament of another nature, yet wee ſhall not ceaſe to deſire the continued protection of Allmightie God upon His Majeſtie. And moſt humbly Petition him to caſt from him all thoſe evill and contrary Councells which have in many particulars formerly mentioned, much detracted from the Honour of his Government, the happineſſe

of

of his owne Eſtate, and proſperitie of his people.

And having paſt ſo many dangers from abroad, ſo many Conſpiracies at home, and brought on the publique worke ſo farre, through the greateſt difficulties that ever ſtood in oppoſition to a Parliament, to ſuch a degree of ſucceſſe, that nothing ſeemes to be left in our way able to hinder the full accompliſhment of our deſires and endeavours for the publique good; unleſſe God in his juſtice, doe ſend ſuch a grievous Curſe upon us, as to turne the ſtrength of the Kingdom againſt it ſelfe, and to effect that by their owne folly and credulitie, which the Power and Subtiltie of their and our enemies could not attaine, That is, to divide the people from the Parliament, and to make them ſerviceable to the ends and aimes of thoſe, who would deſtroy them. Therefore wee deſire the Kingdome to take notice of this laſt moſt deſperate and miſchievous Plott of the malignant partie, that is acted and proſecuted in many parts of the Kingdom, under plauſible Notions, of ſtirring them up to a care of preſerving the Kings Prerogative, maintaining the Diſcipline of the Church, upholding and continuing the reverence and ſolemnitie of Gods Service, incouraging of Learning. And upon theſe grounds, divers mutinous Petitions have been framed in *London*, *Kent*, and other Counties, and ſundry of his Majeſties Subjects have been ſollicited to declare themſelves for the King, againſt the Parliament: and many falſe and foule aſperſions have been caſt upon our proceedings, as if wee had been not onely negligent, but averſe in theſe points: whereas wee deſire nothing more, then to maintaine the puritie and power of Religion, and to Honour the King in all His juſt Prerogatives: and for encouragement and advancement of pietie and learning, wee have very earneſtly endeavoured, and ſtill doe to the uttermoſt of our Power, that all Pariſhes may have learned, pious, and ſufficient Preachers, and all ſuch Preachers competent Livings.

Many other Bills and Propoſitions are in preparation for the Kings Profit and Honour, the peoples ſafetie and proſperitie, In the proceedings whereof, wee are much hindred by His Majeſties abſence from the Parliament, which is altogether contrary to the uſe of his Predeceſſors, and the Priviledges of

Parliament,

Parliament, whereby our time is consumed by a multitude of unnecessary Messages, and our innocency wounded by causeless and sharpe invectives. Yet wee doubt not, but wee shall overcome all this at last, if the people suffer not themselves to be deluded with false and specious shewes, and so drawne to betray us to their owne undoing, who have ever been willing to hazard the undoing of our selves, that they might not be betraid by our neglect of the trust repoſed in us, but if it were possible, they should prevaile herein, yet wee would not faile through Gods grace still to persist in our duties, and to looke beyond our owne lives, estates, and advantages, as those who thinke nothing worth the enjoying without the liberty, peace, and safetie of the Kingdome: nor any thing too good to be hazarded in discharge of our Consciences, for the obtaining of it; And shall alwayes repose our selves upon the Protection of Almightie God; which wee are confident shall never be wanting to us (while wee seeke his glory) as wee have found it hitherto, wonderfully going along with us in all our proceedings.

IT is his Majesties pleasure that you forthwith Print in very good Paper, and send unto me, for his Majesties Service, fortie Copies of the Proclamation inclosed, leaving a convenient space for his Majestie to signe above, and to affix the Privie Signet underneath: And his Majesties expresse Commandis, that you Print not above the said number of forti Copies, and forbeare to make any further publication of them, till his pleasure be further signified, for which this shall be your Warrant.

Edw. Nicholas.

Whitehall 2. January, 1641.

For His Majesties Printer.

THE

The Examination of Colonell *Goring*, taken *Jnne* 19. 1641.

To the first Int. HE ſaith, That in *Lent* laſt (as he remembers) about the middle of it, Sir *John Suckling* came to him on *Sunday* morning as he was in his bed: And this Examinate conceiving he had come to him about ſome buſineſſe of money that was between them; and thereupon falling upon that diſcourſe, Sir *John Suckling* told him he was then come about another buſineſſe, which was to acquaint him, That there was a purpoſe of bringing the Army to *London*, And that my Lord of *New-caſtle* was to be Generall, and he this Examinate, Lieutenant Generall, if he would accept of it. And further ſaid, That he ſhould hear more of this buſineſſe at Court: to which this Examinate anſwered only this, Well, then I will go to the Court; which was all that paſſed between them at that time, to the beſt of this Examinates remembrance.

To the ſecond, He cannot depoſe.

To the third, He ſaith, That as he was coming in his Coach in the ſtreet, out of the *Covent-Garden* into St *Martins Lane*, he met there Mr *Henry Jermyn*, who was likewiſe in a Coach; and ſeeing this Examinate, ſent his Foot-man to him, deſiring him to follow him, becauſe he would ſpeak with him; which this Examinate did: And Mr *Jermyn* going a little further, alighted, and went into a houſe (to which houſe, as this examinate was but yeſterday informed, Sir *John Suckling* did then uſually reſort) and thither this Examinate followed him; and coming after him to the top of the Stayres, Mr *Jermyn* ſaid to him, He had ſomewhat to ſay to him concerning the Army, but that this was no fit place to ſpeak of it, and deſired him to meet him that evening at the Court, on the Queens ſide; which this Examinate accordingly did; and meeting Mr *Jermyn* in the Queens drawing Chamber, he was there told by him, That the Queen would ſpeak with him, and thereupon Mr *Jermyn* brought him into the Queens Bed-chamber: But before this Examinate could enter into any diſcourſe with the Queen, the King came in, and then this Examinate did withdraw, and went

away for that time, but returned again the ſame night, and met Mr *Jermyn* again on the Queens ſide, who told him that he muſt neceſſarily meet with ſome Officers of the Army, to hear ſome Propoſitions concerning the Army. The next day, being *Monday*, this Examinate came again to the Court in the after-noon, and went into the Queens drawing-Chamber, where Her Majeſty then was, who was pleaſed to tell him that the King would ſpeak with him, and bade him repair to the room within the Gallery, into which Room the King ſoon after came; and His Majeſty asked him if he was engaged in any Cabale concerning the Army: to which he anſwered, That he was not: whereupon His Majeſty replyed, I command you then to joyn your ſelf with *Peircy*, and ſome others whom you will finde with him. And His Majeſty likewiſe ſaid, I have a deſire to put my Army into a good poſture, and am adviſed unto it by my Lord of *Briſtoll*: which was the effect of what paſſed between the King and this Examinate at that time. This Examinate meeting afterwards with Mr *Jermyn*, Mr *Jermyn* told him that they were to meet that evening at nine of the Clock with Mr *Peircy*, and ſome others, at Mr *Peircyes* Chamber; and accordingly Mr *Jermyn* and he went thither together, and there found Mr *Peircy* himſelf, Mr *Wilmot*, Mr *Aſhburnham*, Mr *Pollard*, Mr *Oneal*, and Sir *John Bartley*; Mr *Peircy* then in the firſt place tendered an Oath to this Examinate and Mr *Jermyn*, the reſt ſaying they had taken that Oath already: this Oath was prepared in writing, and was to this effect, *That they ſhould neither directly nor indirectly diſcloſe any thing of that which ſhould be then ſaid unto them, nor think themſelves abſolved from the ſecrecy enjoyned by this Oath, by any other Oath which ſhould be afterwards taken by them.* They having taken the Oath, Mr *Peircy* declared, That they were were reſolved not to admit of any body elſe into their Councells: And Mr *Jermyn* and this Examinate moved that Sir *John Suckling* might be received amongſt them; which being oppoſed by the reſt, after ſome debate, it was laid aſide: And ſome ſpeech there was of Sir *John Suckling* his being employed in the Army; but how it was agreed upon, this Examinate doth not remember.

After this, Mr *Peircy* made his Propoſitions, which he read out of a paper, which were to this effect, That the Army ſhould preſently be put into a poſture to ſerve the King, and then ſhould ſend up a Declaration to the Parliament, of theſe particulars, *viz.* That

nothing

nothing ſhould be done in Parliament contrary to any former Act of Parliament, which was explayned, That Biſhops ſhould be maintained in their Votes and Functions, And the Kings Revenue be eſtabliſhed. From theſe Propoſitions none of Mr *Percyes* Company did declare themſelves to diſſent. Then came into conſideration, if the Army ſhould not immediately be brought to *London*, which, as this Examinate remembers, was firſt propounded by Mr *Jermyn*, and alſo the making ſure of the Tower. Theſe things this Examinate did urge, to ſhew the vanity and danger of the other Propoſitions, without undertaking this. In the concluſion, this Examinate did proteſt againſt his having any thing to do in either deſigne; for the proof of which, he appeals to the conſciences of them that were preſent, and ſo parted with them. About this buſineſſe this Examinate ſaith, That they had two meetings, and cannot diſtinguiſh what paſſed at the one, and what at the other, but the reſult of all was as he formerly declared: further then which, he cannot depoſe.

To the fourth Int. He can ſay no more then he hath already ſaid.

To the fifth Int. He ſaith, That the very day that Sir *John Suckling* firſt moved this unto him, he gave ſome touch of it to my Lord *Dungarvan*: and the day after his ſecond meeting at Mr *Peircyes* Chamber, he diſcovered it to my Lord of *Newport*, and deſired him to bring him to ſome other Lords, ſuch as might be likelieſt to prevent all miſchief: And accordingly the next day my Lord of *Newport* brought him to my Lord of *Bedford*, my Lord *Say*, and my Lord *Mandevill*, to whom he imparted the main of the buſineſſe, but not the particulars, in regard of his Oath; and deſired them to make uſe of it as they ſhould ſee cauſe, for the ſafety of the Common-wealth, but not to produce him, nor name any perſon, except there were a neceſſity for it. He further ſaith, That he did at the ſame time make a Proteſtation unto thoſe Lords, of his fidellty unto the Common-wealth, and of his readineſſe to run all hazards for it.

George Goring.

Master PERCIES
LETTER written to the Earle of NORTHUMBERLAND,
June 14th. 1641.

WHat with my own innocency and the violence I heare is against me, I finde my selfe much distracted, I will not ask your councell, because it may bring prejudice upon you; but I will with all faithfulnesse and truth tell you what my part hath been, that at least I may be cleered by you whatsoever becomes of me.

When there was 50000 pound designed by the Parliament for the English Army, there was as I take it a sudden demand made by the Scots at the same time of 25000 pound, of which there was but 15000 pound ready, this they pressed with so much necessity as the Parliament after an Order made, did think it fit for them to deduct 10000 pound out of the fifty formerly granted, upon which, the souldiers in our house were more scandalized, amongst which I was one, and sitting by Wilmott and Ashburnham, Wilmott stood up and told them, if such papers as that of the Scots would procure monies, he doubted not but the Officers of the English Army might easily do the like, but the first order was reversed notwithstanding, and the 10000 pound given to the Scots; this was the cause of many discourses of dislike amongst us, and came to this purpose, that they were disobliged by the Parliament; and not by the King, this being said often one to another, we did resolve, that is, Wilmott, Ashburnham, Pollard, Oneale, and my selfe to make some expression of serving the King in all things he would command us, that were honourable for him and us, being likewise agreeable to the fundamentall lawes of the kingdome, that so farre we should live and dye with him. This was agreed upon by us, not having any communication with others, that I am coupled now wit all; and further, by their joynt consent I was to tell his Majesty thus much from them; but withall I was to order the matter so, as that the King might apprehend this as a great service done unto him, at this time when his affaires were in so ill a condition, and they were most confident that they could ingage the whole Army thus farre, but further they would undertake nothing, because they would neither infringe the liberties of the Subject, or destroy the Lawes, to which I and every one consented; and having their sence, I drew.

drew the Heads up in a paper, to which they all approved when I read it; and then we did by an oath promiſe to one another to be conſtant and ſecret in all this, and did all of us take that oath together. Well Sirs, I muſt now be informed what your particular deſires are, that ſo I may be the better able to ſerve you, which they were pleaſed to do, and I did very faithfully ſerve them therein, as farre as I could: this is the truth and all the truth upon my ſoule. In particular diſcourſes after that, we did fall upon the petitioning the King and Parliament for money, there being ſo great arreares due to us, and ſo much delayes made in the procuring of them, but that was never done.

The preſerving of Biſhops functions and voices.

The not disbanding of the Iriſh Army, untill the Scots were disbanded too.

The endeavouring to ſettle his revenew to that proportion it was formerly, and it was reſolved by us all, if the King ſhould require our aſſiſtance in theſe things, that as farre as we could, we might contribute thereunto without breaking the Lawes of the kingdome, and in caſe the King ſhould deny theſe things being put to them, we would not ſtir from him.

All theſe perſons did act and concurre in this as well as I. This being all imparted to the King by me from them, I perceived he had been treated with by others concerning ſomething of our Army, which did not agree with what we propoſed, but enclined a way more high and ſharpe not having limits either of Honour or Law, I told the King he might be pleaſed to conſider with himſelfe, which way it was fit for him to hearken unto. For us, we were reſolved not to depart from our grounds, and if he imployed others we ſhould not be diſpleaſed whoſoever they were: but the particulars of their deſigne, or the perſons, we deſired not to know, though it was no hard matter to gueſſe at them; in the end I believe the dangers of the one, and the juſtice of the other, made the King tell me he would leave all thoughts of other propoſitions but ours, as things not practicable, but deſired notwithſtanding that Goring and Jermine, who were acquainted with the other proceedings, ſhould be admitted amongſt us; I told him, I thought the other Gentlemen would never conſent to it, but I would propoſe it; which I did, and we were all much againſt it; but the King did preſſe it ſo much, as at the laſt, it was conſented unto, and Goring and Jermine came to my chamber, there I was appointed to tell them, after they had ſworne to ſecrecy, what we had propoſed which I did: but before I go on to the debate of the wayes, I muſt tell you, Mr. Jermine and Goring were very earneſt Suckling ſhould be admitted, which we did all decline; and I was deſired by all our men to be reſolute in it, which I was, and gave many reaſons; whereupon I remember M. Goring made anſwer, he was ſo ingaged with Suckling, he could not go or do any

t'ing without him. Yet in the end, ſo that we would not oppoſe Suckling his being imployed in the Army, that for his meeting with us they were contented to paſſe it by. Then we took up againe, the wayes were propoſed, which took a great debate, and theirs (I will ſay) differed from ours in violence, and height, which we all proteſted againſt and parted, diſagreeing totally; yet remitting it to be ſpoken of by me, and Jermaine, to the King, which we both did. And the King conſtant to his former reſolution told him, that all thoſe wayes were vaine and fooliſh, and would think of them no more. I omitted one thing of M. Goring, he deſired to know, how the chiefe Commanders were to be diſpoſed of, for if he had not a condition worthy of him, he would not go along with us, we made anſwer that no body had thought of that, we intending if we were ſent downe, to go all in the ſame capacity we were in, he did not like that by no means, and upon that did work ſo by M. Chidley, that there was a Letter ſent by ſome of the Commanders to make him Lievtenant Generall: and when he had ordered this matter at London, and M. Chidley had his inſtructions, then did he go to Portſmouth pretending to be abſent when this was a working: we all deſired my Lord of Eſſex or my Lord of Holland, and they (if there were a Generall) Newcaſtle, They were pleaſed to give out a report I ſhould be Generall of the Horſe; but I proteſt, neither to the King or any elſe did I ever ſo much as think of it: my Lord of Holland was made Generall and ſo all things were laid aſide: and this is the truth, and all the truth I know of all theſe proceedings; and this I do and will proteſt upon my faith; and Wilmote, Aſhburnham, and Oneale, have at ſeverall times confeſſed and ſworne, I never ſaid any thing in this buſineſſe, they did not every one agree unto, and would juſtifie. This relation I ſend you, rather to informe you of the truth of the matter, that you may know the better how to do me good: But I ſhould thinke my ſelfe very unhappy to be made a betrayer of any body; what concerned the Tower or any thing elſe I never medled withall, nor never ſpoke with Goring, but that night before them all; and I ſaid nothing but what was conſented unto by all my party. I never ſpoke one word to Suckling, Carnarvan, Davenant, or other creature: me thinkes if my friends and kindred knew the truth and juſtice of this matter, it were no hard matter to ſerve mee in ſome meaſure.

Die

Die Martis 10. *Maii*, 1640.

The Examination of Captain *James Chudleigh*.

To the first Interogatory, and to the second;

THis Deponent saith, That about March and April last he was at Burrowbrig, where divers Officers and Commanders of the Army met, to whom he used some speeches concerning the Parliament, that he saw no probability that the Army would be suddenly paid by the Parliament, because they had promised so much to the King, and to the Scots, as well as to the Army; but that the King did commiserate their case, and said, That if they would be faithfull to him, he would pawn his Iewels rather then they should be unpaid; and saith further, That he knows of such a Letter sent by the Army to my Lord of Northumberland, to be shewed to the Parliament; and that he told them at that meeting, that the Parl. was much displeased with that Letter, and that those who had subscribed it should be sent for up particularly, that my Lord of Essex, and my Lord of Newport had expressed much dislike of that Letter, and of them who had sent it, and said, that they had forfeited their necks: which he had from Sir Iohn Suckling, Master Davenant, and (as he conceives) from Sergeant Major Willis: And this he declared to those Officers, as giving them an account of his journey, and the service in which they had imployed him.

To the third Interogatory;

He saith he hath answered before.

To the fourth Interogatory;

That Sergeant Major Willis told him upon the way, as they were in their journey down into the North, that Co'onell Goring was a brave Gentleman, and fit to command the Army, and that the King had a good inclination to him, that he should be Lieutenant Generall; and saith further, that before he came out of London, Sir Iohn Suckling had likewise highly commended him, and said he was fitter to command in chief, then any man he knew, and that the Army was not now considerable, being without a head, and indeed was but a party (Colonell Goring being away) who commanded a Brigado, and that they did undiscreetly to shew their teeth except they could bite, which the said Sir Iohn Suckling wished him to declare unto the Army, saying, He could not do a better service to the Officers who had imployed him, then to let them know it, whereupon he did acquaint them with it accordingly.

To

To the fifth Interogatory;

That Sir Iohn Suckling brought him into ſome room of the Queens ſide at White Hall, where Maſter Iermyn and he had private conference together, and oftentimes looked towards this Deponent: Sir Iohn Suckling afterwards told him, that the King would be well pleaſed if the Army would receive Colonell Goring to be their Lieutenant Generall, and ſaid that Maſter Henry Iermyn ſaid ſo.

To the ſixth Interogatory;

That Maſter Davenant told him, that things were not here as they were apprehended in the Army, for that the Parliament was ſo well affected to the Scots, as that there was no likelyhood the Army ſhould have ſatisfaction ſo ſoon as they expected it.

To the ſeventh Interogatory;

That when he brought the Letter from the Army, he met with Maſter Davenant, who told him it was a matter of greater conſequence then he imagined, and thereupon brought him to Maſter Henry Iermyn, and Maſter Iermyn told him he heard he brought ſuch a Letter, and asked to ſee a copy of it, which this Deponent did ſhew unto him, and Maſter Iermyn asked if he might not ſhew it to the Queen, and offered to bring this Deponent to her, which he excuſed himſelf of, leſt he ſhould have anticipated my Lord Generall from the viewing the Letter firſt himſelf.

To the eighth Interogatory;

That after he had brought up that Letter, he ſtaid ſome 3 or 4 dayes in London, before he returned down to the Army.

To the ninth Interogatory;

That Sergeant Major Willis told him moſt of the noble Gentlemen in England would ſhew themſelves for the Army: And that the French that were about London would receive Commanders from them, to joyn with them: And beſides, that there would a thouſand horſe likewiſe be raiſed to come to their aſſiſtance, which horſe at laſt he confeſſed were to be found by the Clergy.

To the tenth Interogatory;

That Sergeant Major Willis ſaid moreover, that the Army would be very well kept together, for that the Prince was to be brought thither, which would confirm their affections; which this Deponent did declare at Burrowbrig unto the Officers, and doth believe Willis did the like; and Willis told them alſo, that if my Lord of Newcaſtle was their Generall, he would feaſt them in Nottinghamſhire, and would not uſe them roughly, but that they ſhould be governed by a Councell of war.

To

To the eleventh Inter.

That both Serjeant Major *Willis* and this Deponent, did perſwade the Officers at that meeting, to write a Letter to Colonell *Goring*, which was to let him know, that they would heartily embrace him to be their Lievtenant Generall, if it was his Majeſties pleaſure to ſend him downe, which Letter was ſubſcribed by Colonell *Fielding* and Colonell *Vavaſour*, and divers others; and was by him brought to London upon Monday, where not finding Colonell *Goring*, he delivered it to Sir *John Sucklin*, who carried it to the King, and afterwards brought him to kiſſe the King and Queenes hand, and within a day or two returned the Letter to him againe, which Letter this Deponent the Saturday after carried downe himſelfe to Colonell *Goring* to Portſmouth.

To the 12 Inter.

That there was likewiſe a Letter written to Mr. *Endimion Porter*, aſſigned by Colonell *William Vavaſour* and Colonell *Fielding*, which was to this effect, to deſire him to informe his Majeſtie, that the Army was very faithfull to him, and no doubt need be made by his Majeſtie concerning their proceedings. This Letter Sir *John Sucklin* would not have to be delivered, but took it himſelfe, for that he ſaid Mr. *Porter* knew nothing of the Kings intentions.

To the 14 Inter.

That when he came to Portſmouth, Colonell *Goring* ſhewed him the ſtrength of that place, and told him, that if there ſhould be any mutiny in London, the Queene meant to come downe thither for her ſafetie, and that ſhe had ſent him downe money to fortifie it.

To the 15 Inter.

That what he learned from Serjeant Major *Willis*, he got from him by degrees, as he urged it from him by way of diſcourſe; and that *Willis*, Sir *John Sucklin*, and Mr. *Davenant*, did all of them give him great charge to keep things ſecret, and to be very carefull to whom he communicated any thing, which he accordingly obſerved; for he dealt with the Officers there ſeverally.

James Chudleigh.

This Examination taken in the preſence of Vs,

Eſſex. *Warwick.*

P. Howard. *W. Howard.*

Die Martis 18 Maii.

The second Examination of Cap. *Chudleigh.*

To the 31.

THat at the meeting at Burrowbrig, he declared unto the Officers some thing out of a paper, which he read, and told them that hee had received it from Mr. *Iermyn*, and that Mr. *Iermyn* had received it from the King. And hee said likewise, that some others about the King were acquainted with it, and named Mr. *Endimion Porter*, to whom he thought the King had declared in this businesse.

To the 34.

That Mr. *Iermyn* asked him if hee thought the Army would stick to their Officers, in case the King and Parliament should not agree, or words to that effect.

He saith further, that he had set downe all those things in writing, which hee declared to the Officers at Burrowbrig, and thought to have sent it downe to them; but upon better consideration hee went himselfe, and read it to them out of that paper, but severally, and not to them all together. And particularly, that he read it to Lievtenant Colonell *Ballard*, and to Lievtenant Colonell *Lunsford*, That he did not acquaint them all with it, and the reason why he did not, was because he conceived some were of more judgement than others, and fitter to be trusted with matters of secrecie.

Iames Chudleigh.

Essex, *Warwick,*
W. Say and Seale. *Howard,*

The Examination of Thomas Ballard. *Lievtenant Colonell to the Lord* Grandison; *taken May* 18. 1641.

To the 19.

THat he did meet at Burrowbridge, being sent to by Captain *Chidley*, and none other; but he found there Serjeant Major *Willis*, and divers other Officers of the Army: this was sometime in Aprill last, as he remembreth.

To

To the 20.

That Mr. *Chidley* did propound to him certaine propoſitions, which as he affirmed, hee did receive from Mr. *Henry Iermyn*, and from another great man which he might not name. Captaine *Chidley* further ſaid, that M. *Iermyn* told him that he received thoſe propoſitions from the King: But *Chidley* told him further, that when he kiſſed the Kings hand, his Majeſtie ſaid nothing to him of any ſuch propoſitions. The firſt propoſition was That he ſhould not acquaint either Sir *Iacob Aſhley*, or Sir *Iohn Conyers*, with any thing of this deſigne. The ſecond, that if there were occaſion, the Army ſhould remove their Quarters into Nottingham-ſhire, where the Prince and the Earle of New-Caſtle ſhould meet them with a thouſand Horſe, and all the French that were in London ſhould bee mounted, and likewiſe meet them. Theſe propoſitions were read by Captaine *Chidley*, out of a paper, which hee ſaid he had written himſelfe, thinking to have ſent them downe; but upon better conſideration hee brought them downe himſelfe. That they likewiſe ſhould deſire, that Colonell *Gering* ſhould be the Lievtenant-Generall to the Army: There was likewiſe offered a Paper to this effect, as hee was then told, That if the King would ſend Colonell *Goring* to be Lievtenant-Generall, they would accept of him; which Paper he, this Examinant, refuſed to read, or to ſet his hand to it: but heard that divers others ſigned it. He further ſaith, that there was no other Paper propounded to him to be ſigned, nor to any other to his knowledge. Hee further ſaith, that this was not delivered to the Officers in publique, but ſeverally.

He likewiſe ſaith, That preſently after Colonell *Vavaſour* ſaid publikely, that hee never conſented to theſe propoſitions in his heart; and deſired that there might be a meeting immediately, whereupon they agreed upon a meeting at York the Wedneſday following, at which meeting they generally concluded, not to intereſſe themſelves in any of thoſe deſignes that had been propounded to them by Captaine *Chidley*; and they preſently writ by the Poſt to Captaine *Chidley* to London, that if hee had not delivered the Paper, he ſhould forbeare to deliver it.

Thomas Ballard.

The Examination of Captaine Legg, *taken May the* 18. 1642.

To the 19 *Inter.*

HE ſaith, That hee heard of a meeting at Burrowbridge, but was not there preſent, but was preſent at another meeting at York not long after, where he was told that the King was not well ſatisfied with the affections of the Officers to his ſervice; and therefore it was thought fit, to make a Declaration of their readineſſe to ſerve his Majeſtie; which declaration was accordingly drawne, but not finding any great cauſe for it, it was after torne. Hee further ſaith, That the night before the meeting at Burrowbridge, hee ſpoke with Captaine *Chidley* at York, who perſwaded him to goe to Burrowbridge, where he had propoſitions to impart to the Army; but this Examinate refuſing to goe, hee would not acquaint him with them at that time; but told them that divers Lords and Officers of the Army were fallen off from the King, naming the Earle of Eſſex, the Earle of Newport, Commiſſary *Wilmott* Colonell *Aſhburnham*, and others, which this Examinate ſo much diſliked, that they forbore any further diſcourſe.

Will. Legg.

The Examination of Colonell Vavaſour, *taken the* 29 *of May*, 1641.

THat at the meeting at Burrowbridge, Serjeant Major *Willis* and Captaine *Chidley*, or one of them, told the Officers there, that the Parliament had taken great offence at the Letter which they had written up to my Lord of Northumberland; and that thoſe who had ſubſcribed it, ſhould be queſtioned, and that there was ſmall hopes of money from the Parliament for the preſent.

That the King would take it very well, if he might receive aſſurance from them, that they would accept of Colonell *Goring* for their Lievtenant Generall, and wiſhed that the Army were united.

When the King had this aſſurance from them, there ſhould come a Generall that would bring them money, this they ſaid they had good Commiſſion to deliver unto them, having received it from Mr. *Henry Iermyn* and Sir *Iohn Sucklin*, hee likewiſe ſaith Captaine *Chidley*

Chidley ſpake it with more confidence, and Sergeant Major *Willis* rather as having heard it from others: he further ſaith, there was a Letter written to Colonell *Goring*, for to let him know if the King would ſend him downe with a Commiſſion to be Lieutenant Generall, they would willingly receive him, and this Letter was propoſed unto them by Captaine *Chidley* and Serjeant Major *Willis*. There was another letter written to Mr. *Endimion Porter*, which as he remembers was to let him know, that though the Army was now commanded by Sir *Iacob Aſhley*, yet if that it were his Majeſties pleaſure to appoint Colonell *Goring* to bee Lieutenant Generall, they were confident the Army would receive him the better, being only ſubſcribed by Colonell *Fielding* and himſelfe. And further ſayeth that he heares this Letter was never delivered, for that Sir *Iohn Suckling* told Maſter *Chidley* that Maſter *Porter* was a ſtranger to the buſineſſe.

Colonell *Vavaſor*.

This Examination taken afore Vs,

Mandevile.

Howard. *Ph. Wharton*.

Charles R.

COlonell *Goring*, theſe are to command you to provide with all ſpeed a ſhip for this Bearer to carry him to Dieppe or Calais or any other Port of France, that the winde may be good for, and if there be any of my ſhips or Pinnaces ready to goe forth you ſhall command the Captain or Maſter of ſuch ſhip or Pinnace to receive him and his ſervants and carry him into France, for which this ſhall bee a warrant to the Captain or Maſter you may imploy, and hereof you nor they are not to faile as you or they will anſwer the contrary at your perills

Given at White-Hall this 14. of *May*, 1641.

To our Truſty and Well-beloved Servant
George Goring *Gouernour of Portſmouth*.

The Examination of Captaine *William Legg*, taken upon Oath before the Lords Committees upon *Saturday* the 30. of October, 1641.

To the first Interrg.

SAith, That hee doth know Master *Daniel Oneale* who was Serjeant Major to Sir *John Conniers*, doth not certainely remember the precise time going from the Army to London, nor of his return back, but beleeves he returned about *June* and *July*.

To the ninth.

That hee was at Yorke when the said Master *Oneale* returned thither from London, and can say no more to this ninth Interrg.

To the tenth.

That there was a Petition prepared to bee delivered to the parliament from the Army, which consisted of many particulars, as to shew how much they suffered for want of Martiall Law, and for want of pay, and because their principall Officers were not amongst them, and they did likewise set forth in it, That as the wisedome of the King did cooperate with the Parliament, So they did hope the Parliament would doe something concerning the Kings Revenue; but saith he doth not remember what the particular was which was desired, and further that they heard of great tumults about London, and therefore offered themselves to serve the King and Parliament: with the last drop of their bloods. He saith that this Petition was approved of by all the Officers that saw it, but was laid aside till further consideration should be had of the manner of the delivery, That himselfe was afterwards sent for to London by order of the house of Commons, and was examined, and after his examination, when hee saw there was no further use to bee made of that Petition hee burnt it.

Hee farther saith, That he staid in this Towne some five or sixe dayes, and was with the King, and had some speech with His Majesty about a Petition to come from the Army, and gave him an accompt of the Petition that was formerly burnt, and there he received another Petition to the same effect with the other, but handsomelier written, upon which there

was

was a direction indorſed to this purpoſe. This Petition will not offend yet let it not be ſhewn to any but Sir *Iacob Aſhley*.

He farther ſaith there was no name to this direction but only two Letters, but what thoſe Letters were, he will not ſay nor cannot ſwear who writ thoſe two Letters, becauſe hee did not ſee them written.

He ſaith he did deliver the ſame paper with the directions to Sir *Iacob Aſhley*, and told him withall here is a paper with a direction, you know the hand, keepe it ſecret, I have ſhewed it to no body, if there be no occaſion to uſe it, you may burne it, and ſaith hee ſpake no more of it to him, till after my Lord of Hollands comming downe to be Generall, and then he ſpake to him to burne it.

William Legg.

The Examination of Sir Iacob Aſhley *taken before the Lords Committees this twenty ninth of* October, 1641,

To the firſt Interog.

HEe ſaith that he hath known Serjeant Major *Daniel Oneal* very long and that he was long abſent from the Army the laſt Summer, but knows not at what time he did returne, nor knows not how long it was that he ſtayed in the Army before his going into the Low Countries, but thinks it to be about three weeks.

To the ſecond Interog.

He ſaith that Mr. *Oneale* told him after his comming downe laſt, that things being not ſo well betwixt the King and Parliament, hee thought a Petition from the Army might doe very much good, and asked him if a draught of ſuch a Petition were brought unto him, whether he would ſet his hand unto it, the particulars which he deſired to have the Army received in, were the want of Martiall Law, want of pay, and for words ſpoken in the Houſe of Parliament againſt the Army, as that the City was diſaffected to the Kings Army, and would rather pay the Scots then them.

To the third Inter. He cannot anſwer.

To the fourth Inter. He cannot anſwer.

To

To the fifth Inter.

He ſaith that hee received a Letter by the hands of Captaine *Legg*, the tenour whereof as far as remembers was to this effect, the Letter being written in two ſides of paper and ſomewhat more, firſt that divers things were preſſed by parties to inſiſe into the Parliament things to the Kings diſadvantage, and that divers tumults and diſorders were neere the Parliament to the diſſervice of the King, divers other particulars were contained in this Letter, and in the cloſe of this Letter, it was recommended to this Examinat that he ſhould get the hands of the Officers of the Army to ſuch a declaration to be ſent to the Parliament, and that this would bee acceptable to the King. Hee further ſaith, hee knowes not of whoſe hand writting it was nor who delivered it to Captaine *Legg*.

To the 7. Inter.

He ſaith that Mr. *Oneal* telling him of the diſlikes which were between the King and the Parliament and of thoſe things which were done to the diſadvantage of the King, they muſt fight with the Scots firſt and beate them before they could move Southward; and that done, they muſt ſpoyle the Countrey all along as they goe, and when they doe come to London, they would finde reſiſtance by the Parliament and the Scots might rallie and follow them: to which *Oneale* replyed, what if theſe Scots could bee made neutrall: This Examinat then ſaid, that the Scots would lay him by the heels, if he ſhould come to move ſuch a thing, for that they would never breake with the Parliament.

Preſently replyed; I wondred that Counſells ſhould be ſo laid as had been ſpoken of: of the marching of the Army to the South.

8. Inter. D.

Hee further ſayes that there was at the end of the Letter a direction to this effect, Captaine or *William Legg*, I command you that you ſhew this Letter to none but *Iacob Aſhley*, above this direction were ſet theſe two Letters, *C. R.*

Iacob Aſhley.

The

The Examination of Sir *Iohn Coniers*, taken upon Oath before the Lords Committees upon Friday the 29. of *October* 1641.

To the first Interrog. He ſaith, that he knowes very well Maſter *Daniel O-Neale*, who was Serjeant Major to his Regiment, that the ſaid *O-Neale* came up to London about *November* laſt, and returned to the Army about Midſummer.

To the ſecond, That *O-Neale*, after his return to the Army in Summer, ſpake twice unto this Examinant of a Petition to be ſent from the Army to the Parliament, and told him, that becauſe they did not know if himſelfe would conſent unto it, they would firſt petition him, that he would approve of it, but that as yet there were but few hands to that Petition, which was to be preferred to him; and therefore would not ſhew it him.

To the fourth, That the ſaid *O-Neale*, uſed perſwaſions to this Examinant, that hee would ſerve the King, that if he did not, he ſhould bee left alone, and would but ruine himſelfe, for that all the Troups under him were that way enclined: That therefore he ſhould adhere to the King, and goe thoſe wayes that the King would have him, or words to that effect.

To the fifth, That he ſaw a paper, containing ſome directions for a Declaration to be ſubſcribed unto by the Officers of the Army: which paper was in Sir *Jacob Aſhleys* hand; he ſaith, it was long, containing two ſides of a ſheet of paper or thereabout: the effect whereof was ſomething concerning Martiall Law, and better payment for the Army, together with ſome other particulars; that it was to be directed to the Parliament, and that there were two Letters, *viz. C. R.* at the end. That hee doth not know who brought it unto Sir *Iacob Aſhley*, but that both of them were very much troubled at it. He ſaith further, that there was a direction at the end of the writing, that no body ſhould ſee it but Sir *Iacob Aſhley*; and the two letters, *C. R.* were as hee remembers to that direction, but whether before or after that direction hee cannot affirme.

To the ſeventh, That he never heard Maſter *O-Neale* himſelfe ſpeak of his going to New-caſtle, but that he heard it from others, and as hee takes it from his wife the Lady *Coniers*, and that whoſoever it was that told him ſo, told him withall, that *O-Neale* himſelfe ſaid ſo.

Io. Coniers

The second examination of Sir *Iohn Coniers*, taken before the Lords Committees upon Saturday the 30. of *October*.

To the fourth inter. That Master *O-Neal* said to him, that if he this Examinant, had been well known to the King, the King would have written to him, and therefore he conceived, this Examinant should doe well to write unto the King; to which he replyed, That he could not serve the King in that point, and therefore he thought, it would be of no use, to trouble the King with his letters.

To the fifth, That the paper mentioned in his former examination to have beene seene by him in Sir *Iacobs Ashleys* hand, contained directions for a Petition to be presented to the King and Parliament: In which, was a clause to this effect, That whereas all men ought to give God thanks, for putting it into the Kings heart, to condiscend to the desires of the Parliament, not only to deliver up unto them many of his servants and others, who were neere unto him to bee at their disposing, but also to doe many things, which none of his Ancestors would have consented unto, as giving way to the Triannuall Parliament: and granting many other things for the good of his Subjects, yet notwithstanding some turbulent spirits, backt by rude and tumultuous mechanick persons, seemed not to be satisfied, but would have the totall subversion of the government of the State, that therefore the Army, which was so orderly governed, notwithstanding they had no martiall Law, and ill payment, and but few Officers, being of so good comportment, might be called up to attend the person of the King and Parliament for their security. This Examinant further saith, that there were many other passages in this Petition which he doth not now remember, only that there was some expression of a desire, that both Armies should bee disbanded for the ease of the Kingdome; and likewise a direction to procure as many of the Officers hands, as could be gotten.

To the seventh, That he remembers wel it was not his wife, but Sir *Iacob Ashley*, that said to him those words, *O-Neal* goes, or else *O-Neal* saith he wil go to New-Castle; but which of the sayings it was, he doth not wel remember; but saith he replied to it, that *O-Neal* said, nothing to him of that.

This Examinant further saith, that he took occasion upon these passages from *O-Neal*, to command him and Sir *Iohn Burther* and all the other Officers to repaire to their Quarters, to be ready to perfect their accounts with the Country against the time they should be called for. *Io. Coniers.*

The

The Examination of Sir Foulke Hunckes, *taken before the Lords Committees upon Friday, Octob. 29. 1641.*

To the first Interrog. he saith, that he doth well know Master *Daniel O-Neale*, who was Serjeant Major to Sir *John Conyers*; That hee went from the Army to London about the time that the King came out of the North to the Parliament; and that he returned again to the Army, about that time when Commissary *Wilmot* and the other Souldiers were committed by the Parliament.

To the second. That the said *O-Neale* perswaded him this Examinant to take part with the King, or something to that purpose; and that thereupon this Examinant acquainted the Lievtenant Generall with it, and presently repaired to his own Quarter, to keep the Souldiers in order; where he staid not above two or three dayes, till he heard that *O-Neal* was fled. He further saith, that *O. Neale* dealt with him to have the troops move; To which he replyed, that he had received no such direction from his Superiours, nor from the King: And that then he offered him a paper, and pressed him to signe it; whereupon he this Examinant asked, if the Generall, or Lievtenant Generall had signed it; to which *O. Neale* answering they had not, he said, that he would not be so unmannerly as to signe any thing before them, and refused to read it. He saith likewise that Captain *Armstrong* was present at the same time, and that *O-Neale* offered it to him; who looking upon this Examinant, this Examinant did shake his head at him, to make a signe that he should not doe it, and withall went out of the roome: and *Armstrong* afterwards refused it, giving this reason, That he would not signe it when his Colonell had refused it; which hee told this Examinant.

To the third he saith, That *O-Neale* told him he had very good authority for what he did; but did not tell him from whom.

To the seventh. That Master *O-Neale* told him he was to goe to the Scottish Army, but saith he doth not know for what end and purpose he would go thither; for that he this Examinant shunned to have any thing more to doe with him.

Foulk Hunckes.

The Examination of Sir William Balfour *Lievtenant of the Tower, taken the second of June.*

To the first Interrog. he saith he was commanded to receive Captain *Billingsley* into the Tower with 100. men for securing of the place, and that he was told they should be under his command.

To the ſecond Interrog. he ſaith, The Earl of Strafford told him it would be dangerous in caſe he ſhould refuſe to let them in.

To the third Interrog. He referreth himſelf to the former depoſitions of the three women, taken before the Conſtable and himſelf. And further ſaith, That the Earle of Strafford himſelfe, after he had expoſtulated with him for holding Maſter *Slingsby* at the Tower gate; and after his telling the ſaid Earle he had reaſon ſo to doe, in regard of what the women had depoſed, by which it appeared there was an eſcape intended by his Lordſhip; himſelfe acknowledged hee had named the word *Eſcape* twice or thrice in his diſcourſe with Maſter *Slingsby*, but that hee meant it ſhould be by the Kings authority, to remove him out of the Tower to ſome other Caſtle; and that he did aſk Maſter *Slingsby* where his brother was, and the ſhip.

To the fourth Interrog. This Examinant ſaith, the Earle of Strafford ſent for him ſome three or foure dayes before his death, and did ſtrive to perſwade him that he might make an eſcape; and ſaid, for without your connivence I know it cannot be: and if you will conſent thereunto, I will make you to have 20000. pounds paid you, beſides a good marriage for your ſonne: To which this Examinant replyed, he was ſo farre from concurring with his Lordſhip, as that his honour would not ſuffer him to connive at his eſcape; and withall told him, hee was not to be moved to hearken thereunto.

W. Balfour.

Ex. in preſence of us
Eſſex. *Warwick.*
L. Wharton *Mandeville.*

James Wadſworth *lies at the halfe Moone in Queens-ſtreet, at* Cockets *houſe a Joyner divers Officers lye, which is the next doore.*

Coll. Lindſey.
Capt. Kirk. *Die Martis 4. Maii 1641.*

James Wadſworth.

HE ſaith that one Ancient *Knot* told him ſeverall times the laſt week, that Sir *John Suckling* was raiſing of Officers for three Regiments for Portugall: and ſaith that hee this Examinant was at the Portugall Ambaſſadours on Sunday laſt, and then the Ambaſſadour told him that he knew not Sir *John Suckling*, nor any thing at all of Sir *John Sucklings* raiſing of men for Portugall; and the Ambaſſadour himſelf had no Commiſſion to treat for any men till he heard out of Portugall.

Tueſday

Tueſday the 11. *of May*, 1641.

The Examination of *John Lanyon*.

HE was upon Eaſter Eve laſt, and ſeverall times ſince, troubled by Captaine *Billingſley* to enter into an expedition for *Portugall* with Sir *John Sucklin*. And when this Examinant told him that he was His Majeſties ſervant, and could not goe without leave, Captaine *Billingſley* bid him take no care for that, he ſhould have leave procured, and further deſired him to get as many Canoneers as he could.

This Examinant doubting whether they were reall in that Deſigne, repaired to the Portugall Ambaſſadors, and there underſtood from his Secretary, that he was willing to have men, but they knew neither Sir *John Suckling*, nor Captaine *Billingſley*; neither had they from them any Commiſſion to raiſe men.

He likewiſe ſaith, that Captaine *Billingſley* did after ſollicite this Examinant to come to Sir *John Suckling*, and that upon Sunday was ſennight laſt Sir *John Suckling* and Captaine *Billingſley*, with many other Officers, repaired unto his houſe in the afternoone, and there ſtaid two houres at leaſt; The Examinant not comming in, they left a note hee ſhould be with them that night at the Sparragus Garden at Supper: whereof this Examinant failing, Captaine *Billingſley* comes againe to his houſe the Monday morning, and not finding him there, left word that he muſt needs come to the Covent Garden to Sir *John Sucklings* lodging, which accordingly he did; but not finding him there, the ſame day he was with Captain *Billingſley* at the Dog Tavern in Weſtminſter, at which time he did farther appoint this Examinant upon Wedneſday to promiſe Sir *John Suckling* a meeting at the Dolphin in Grayes Inne lane about nine of the clock in the forenoon, where the ſame day came ſome thirty more which were appointed by Sir *John Suckling* and Captaine *Billingſley*; but neither Sir *John Suckling* or *Billingſley* came, only there came one and gave them money, and ſo diſmiſt them for the preſent.

This Examinant further ſaith, that Captaine *Billingſley* having notice that he had ſome ſtore of Armes of his owne, told him, Sir *John Suckling* would buy them all, if he pleaſed to ſell them.

Captaine *Billingſley* likewiſe told this Examinant, that Sir *John Suckling* had furniſhed himſelfe for money, and all the company.

John Lanyon.

Quarto die Maii, 1641.

Elizabeth Nutt, wife of *William Nutt* of Tower-ſtreet London, Merchant, and *Anne Bardſey* of Tower-ſtreet aforeſaid widow, ſay, that they being deſirous to ſee the Earle of *Strafford*, came to *Anne Vyner* wife of *Thomas Vyner* Cletk to the Lievtenant of the Tower, whoſe lodging being neare to the Kings Gallery, where the ſaid Earl uſeth to walk, carried them to a back doore of the ſaid Gallery, the ſaid Earl with one other being then walking. And they three being then there, and peeping through the key hole and other places of the doore to ſee the ſaid Earle, did heare him and the ſaid other party conferring about an eſcape, as they conceived, ſaying, that it muſt be done when all was ſtill, and asked the ſaid party where his brothers ſhip was, who ſaid ſhe was gone below in the River, and heard him ſay, that they three might be there in twelve houres, and doubted not to eſcape if ſome thing which was ſaid concerning the Lievtenant of the Tower, were done; but what that was, as alſo where they might be in twelve houres, they could not heare by reaſon that when they walked further off, they could not perfectly heare. And the ſaid Ms *Nutt* and Ms *Bardſey* ſay, that they heard the ſaid Earl then ſay, that if this Fort could be ſafely guarded or ſecured for three or foure months, there would come aid enough: and divers other words tending to the purpoſes aforeſaid, which they cannot now remember.

And further all of them ſay that they heard the ſaid Earle, three times mention an eſcape, ſaying, that if any thing had been done, his Majeſty might ſafely have ſent for him; but now there was nothing to be thought on, but an eſcape: And heard the ſaid other partie telling his Lordſhip, that the outward gates were now as ſurely guarded as thoſe within. To whom the ſaid Earle ſaid, the eaſier our eſcape that way, pointing to the Eaſt, if the ſaid party and ſome others ſhould obey the directions of the ſaid Earle: But what thoſe were they know not; but heard the ſaid party anſwer, they would doe any thing his Lordſhip ſhould command.

Anne Vyner,

Anne Bardſey,

Signum,

Eliza. E. N. Nut

The

The Superſcription of the Letter.

For my worthy Friend Sir Lewes Dyves *Knight,*
at the Earle of Briſtolls houſe in
Queen-ſtreet,

London.

Deare Brother,

I Hope you will have received the Letter which I wrote unto you from aboard Sir *John Pennington*, wherein I gave you account of the accident of *O-Neals* man, and why I thought fitting to continue my journey into Holland; going ſtill upon this ground, that if things goe on by way of accommodation, by my abſence the King will be advantaged: If the King declare himſelf, and retire to a ſafe place, I ſhall be able to wait upon him from hence, as well as out of any part of England, over and above the ſervice which I may doe him here in the mean time. Beſides that, I found all the Ports ſo ſtrict, that if I had not taken this opportunity of Sir *John Penningtons* forwardneſſe in the Kings ſervice, it would have been impoſſible for me to have gotten away at any other time.

I am now here at Middleborough, at the Golden Fleece upon the Market, at one *George Peterſons* houſe, where I will remaine till I receive from you advertiſement of the ſtate of things, and likewiſe inſtructions from their Majeſties; which I deſire you to haſten unto me by ſome ſafe hand: and withall to ſend unto me a cypher, whereby we may write unto one another freely. If you knew how eaſie a paſſage it were, you would offer the King to come over for ſome few dayes your ſelfe. God knowes I have not a thought towards my Countrey to make me bluſh, much leſſe criminall; but where Traytors have ſo great a ſway, the honeſteſt thoughts may prove moſt treaſonable.

Let *Dick Sherley* be diſpatcht hither ſpeedily, with ſuch black cloaths and linnen as I have: and let your letters be directed to the Baron of Sherborn, for by that name I live unknowne. Let care be taken for Bills of Exchange.

Middleborough
Jan. 20. 1641.

Yours.

The

The Examination of *Owen Connelly* Gent.

taken before us whoſe names enſue.

the 22. of *October* 1641.

WHo being duly ſworne and examined, ſaith, That he being at Mommore in the County of London-Derry on Tueſday laſt, he received a Letter from Colonell *Hugh Ogemacmahon*, deſiring him to come to Connagh in the County of Monayhan, and to be with him on Wedneſday or Thurſday laſt: whereupon he this Examinant came to Connagh on Wedneſday night laſt, and finding the ſaid *Hugh* come to Dublin, followed him hither: He came hither about ſix of the clock this Evening, and forthwith went to the lodging of the ſaid *Hugh*, to the houſe neer the Boot in Oxmantowne, and there he found the ſaid *Hugh*, and came with the ſaid *Hugh* into the towne, neere the Pillory, to the lodging of the Lord *Mac-quire*; where they found not the Lord within: and there they dranke a cup of Beere, and then went back again to the ſaid *Hugh* his lodging. He ſaith that at the Lord *Mac-quire* his lodging the ſaid *Hugh* told him that there were and would be this night great numbers of Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Iriſh Papiſts, from all the parts of the Kingdome, in this Towne, who with himſelfe had determined to take the Caſtle of Dublin, and poſſeſſe themſelves of all his Majeſties Ammunition there; and to morrow morning being Saturday: and that they intended firſt to batter the Chimneyes of the ſaid Towne; and if the City would not yeeld, then to batter down the houſes, and ſo to cut off all the Proteſtants that would not joyne with them.

He ſaith further, That the ſaid *Hugh* then told him, that the Iriſh had prepared men in all parts of the Kingdom, to deſtroy all the Engliſh inhabiting there to morrow morning by ten of the clock; and that in all the Sea-ports, and other Townes in the Kingdome, all the Proteſtants ſhould be killed this night; and that all the Poſts that could bee could not prevent it. And further ſaith, That he moved the ſaid *Hugh* to forbeare the executing of that buſineſſe, and to diſcover it to the State for the ſaving of his owne eſtate: who ſaid, that he could not helpe it: But ſaid, that they did owe their due allegeance to the King, and would pay him all his Rights, but that they did this for the tyrannicall Government was over them; and to imitate Scotland, who got a priviledge by that courſe. And he further ſaith, That when he was with the ſaid *Hugh* in his lodging the ſecond time, the ſaid *Hugh* ſwore that he ſhould not goe out of hi[s]

his lodging that night, but told him that he ſhould goe with him the next morning to the Caſtle, and ſaid, if this matter were diſcovered, ſome body ſhould die for it: Whereupon this Examinant feigned ſome neceſſity for his eaſement, went downe out of the Chamber, and left his ſword in pawne, and the ſaid *Hugh* ſent his man downe with him; And when this Examinant came downe into the yard, finding an opportunity, he this Examinant leaped over a wall and two pales, and ſo came to the Lord Juſtice *Parſons*.

October 22. 1641.

Owen Oconnelly.
William Parſons.
Tho: Rotherham.
Rob: Meridith.

The examination of *Mark Pagett* Parſon of *Morleſtowne*, neare *Kingſale* in *Ireland*, and Deane of *Roſſe* there, had and taken at *Plimmouth*, in the County of Devon: before *Thomas Cotty* Merchant, Maior of the Burrough of *Plimmouth* aforeſaid, *William Birch*, and *Iob: Bound*, Merchants, three of his Majeſties Juſtices of the Peace, within the ſaid Burrough, the fourth day of *March*, 1641.

The ſaid Examinant ſaith, that he came from *Kingſale* this day was ſeven-night, and ſaith, that the Rebellion in *Ireland* is generall; (except the Port Townes and Fortifications) and ſaith, that hee conceiveth that the Forces of the Rebels in *Munſter* is betweene twenty or thirty thouſand, which lie neare *Corke* and *Bandam* Bridge, in two bodies; whereof the chiefe of one is Baron *Longhland*, the Lord *Mungarret*, the Lord *Dunboine*, and divers other Lords: and the chiefe of the other are *Macarte Reath*, *Teage Adowne*, *Teage Adun van Durmet*, *Glacke*, and *Macke Phenning*, and divers others. And this Examinant hath for certaine heard, that the Earle of *Clanrikard* is likewiſe in Armes in *Connough* againſt the Engliſh Proteſtants; and further ſaith, that he knoweth that the Rebels have very good intelligence out of England, of all paſſages here, and for the moſt part ſpeedier then the Engliſh have there: and further ſaith, that they threaten that aſſoone

as they have rooted out the British, and English there, to invade *England*, and assist the Papists in *England*. And further saith, that they have the Popes Legate amongst them (as they report) who sits constantly in counsell with Sir *Phelome Oneale*, (who writes himselfe now Prince *Oneale* from his Pallace *Charlemount*;) the Lord *Maggenys* and divers others, who directed and advised the rest of the Rebels. And farther saith, That the *Irish* Rebels doe report that they have the Kings Warrant and Great Seale for what they doe, and say they are his Majesties true Subjects; and that the *English* Protestants are Rebels, and not they. And further saith, that the Rebels doe generally report that there are three factions in *England*, whereof one is the Kings; which consists for the most part of Courtiers and Bishops, with some few Lords and Gentry: Another the Puritans, which is supported by the House of Commons, some Lords, and the Corporations and Cities in *England*: And the third is the Queenes, which they say is the greatest; and consists of the Catholiques, some Lords, all the Priests and Jesuites, besides the expectation they have of forraine forces: And farther saith, that they report that the Queenes faction will set such a division betweene the two others, that it will root out both of them at last. And further saith, that the said *Irish* doe bragge that the Queenes faction hath the command of most of the Fortes and Forces of *England*. And this Examinant farther saith, that he knoweth this to be usually reported amongst them, for that he hath lived in *Ireland* these two and thirty yeares, and beene incumbent of the said Church eighteene yeares, and hath heard divers of the *Irish* Papists of the better sort to affirme so much, which doth much hearten the Rebels, and dishearten the *English*. And farther saith, that the Rebels have taken the Iron-workes at *Glannorreth*, and great quantities of Iron; and there, and else-where cast Ordinance, make Muskets, heads for Pikes, Skeanes, and other weapons; and farther saith, that the greatest part of the nine thousand *Irish* Souldiers which the Earle of *Strafford* had at *Nockyargas*, in *Ireland*, and there exercised and trayned a long time, are the most expert Commanders, Leaders, and Officers amongst the Rebels.

Thomas Ceely Maior.

Madame,

I Shall not adventure to write unto your Majeſtie with freedome, but by expreſſes, or till ſuch time as I have a cipher, which I beſeech your Majeſtie to vouchſafe me. At this time therefore I ſhall onely let your Majeſtie know where the humbleſt and moſt faithfull ſervant you have in the world is; Here at *Middleborough* where I ſhall remaine in the privateſt way I can, till I receive inſtructions how to ſerve the King and your Majeſty in theſe parts. If the King betake himſelfe to a ſafe place, where he may avow and protect his ſervants from rage (I meane) and violence, for from Juſtice I will never implore it, I ſhall then live in impatience and in miſery, till I waite upon you. But if after all he hath done of late, he ſhall betake himſelfe to the eaſieſt and complyanteſt wayes of accommodation: I am confident, that then I ſhall ſerve him more by my abſence then by all my induſtry, and it will be a comfort to me in all calamities, if I cannot ſerve you by my actions, that I may doe it in ſome kinde by my ſufferings for your ſake; having (I proteſt to God) no meaſure of happineſſe or misfortune in this world, but what I derive from your Majeſties value of my affection and fidelity.

Middleborough the 21.
of *January*, 1641.

FINIS.

FINIS

18

A Briefe RELATION

Diſcovering Plainely the true Cauſes why the great Levell of

FENNS

In the ſeverall Counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntington, Northhampton, and Lincolne Shires;

BEING

Three hundred and ſeven thouſand Acres of Low-Lands, have been drowned, and made unfruitfull for many yeares paſt.

AND

As briefly how they may be drained, and preſerved from Inundation in the times to come.

Humbly preſented to the Honourable Houſe of COMMONS Aſſembled in PARLIAMENT.

By *Andrewes Burrell*, Gent.

LONDON,
Printed for *Francis Conſtable*. 1642.

A BRIEF
RELATION
Discovering Plantations
true Christian
PLANTS
In the Province of
Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntington, New
Harbor, and Hartford in
Three hundred and fifty miles
Low-Lands, have been discovered and
A briefly how they may be defended, and
ferred from the Indians in the parts to come.
Humbly presented to the Honourable House
COMMONS Assembled in PARLIAMENT.
By John Eliot, Apostle of the
LONDON,
Printed for Fulke Clench, and

TO THE
HONOVRABLE
House of
COMMONS,
Assembled in
PARLIAMENT.

GReat and Honourable workes ought to bee directed by great and Honourable Councells; And therefore to the intent this noble Enterprise may not be undervalued (as it is by some) I humbly informe this Honourable Court, that besides sundry attempts made by divers Noblemen, who desired to improve the great levell of Fenns; the undertaking was so well esteemed by King JAMES, *that Hee really intended to take it into His owne care; the diver-*

ſion of His Royall intention is unknowne. After him the Late Earle of Bedford *and his friends adventured great ſummes of money to recover them; But before their workes were finiſhed, they were circumvented and outed of all their intendments. The laſt undertaking was attempted by the Kings Majeſty that now is; but the greateſt part of His money being miſ-ſpent, and all his intended workes miſled by Sir* Cornelius Vermuden's *myſticall deſigne, His now Majeſty hath declined His undertaking alſo, ſo that it is like to returne to the now Earle of* BEDFORD *and his friends.*

This Noble Enterpriſe being thus miſguided, lyeth now before your grave Wiſdomes, expecting direction from this Honourable Aſſembly, and wanting a better friend to petition for them, (there being an Order made by the Honourable Committee for the Fens, the twenty five of February laſt, that all men whom it may concern may offer any other deſigne; In regard a perfect deſigne concerneth the preſervation of many mens eſtates, which elſe may be ruined, impaired, or caſt into eminent danger.) I am humbly bold to informe you, that unleſſe this Honourable Court command the now intended workes to be publiſhed to the ſeverall Counties (as was once intended by the Honourable Committee) ſo that the Countries approbation, or exceptions may bee valued (or at the leaſt heard.) And that before the works beginne, equall compoſitions may bee made with all thoſe whoſe Lands ſhall bee impaired, endangered, or

taken

taken from them: many men may bee ruined in their juſt Eſtates. There are two Reaſons that make me earneſt in this cauſe: The one is the former ill deſigning, and ill mannaging of the workes, wherein Wilfulneſſe and Ignorance (in the Kings Name) over-ruled the Countries. The other concernes my ſelfe, firſt, in taking a great part of my owne Land (and ſome of that which I Farme) from me, without ſatisfaction, compoſition, or leave to cut it; and which is much worſe, by bringing all the reſt of my Inheritance, and leaſt Lands (which together are not leſſe than three thouſand Acres) into eminent danger of drowning, by cutting my old firme Banck, and expoſing my Lands to bee defended from the common waters by a hollow counterfeit Banck, made of ſo light a compoſition, that it will both burne and ſwim.

And here I beſeech you give mee leave to tell you, that for want of Iuſtice in ENGLAND, and Peace in IRELAND, my aged Mother; my ſelfe and foure Brethren, have within a few yeares loſt nine hundred and ſixty pounds per annum: *which when time will give me leave, I hope to prove before this Honourable Parliament; which makes me the more earneſtly implore your aide in this my great neceſſity.*

To conclude, if this Noble Enterpriſe by your Honourable paines, be well deſigned, and ſo proſecuted; The Improvement will not only returne a

ſufficient ſatisfaction to the adventurers, but the Common-wealth will ſweetly reliſh the great Improvement which will follow. But becauſe it is not ſafe to be over large in great promiſes, I will ſay no more; but GOD grant the Fenns may in due time be made VVinter grounds, not impairing any private mans eſtate. So Prayeth

Your Honours humble Supplyant,

Andrewes Burrell.

A BRIEFE

RELATION

Of the true Cauſes why the

FENNS

In Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntington, Northampton, and Lincolne Shires, have beene drowned.

AND

As briefly how they may be drained, and preſerved from Inundation.

BEfore I declare the Reaſons why thoſe Low Lands are ſubject to drowning; I conceive it is fit to diſcover to them that doe not know thoſe Countries, in what condition the Fens were before they were drowned: How they are ſeated, and how they are drowned.

Mr. *Cambden* in his *Brittania*, *folio* 449. referres his Readers to *william* of *Malmesbury*, who reporteth the Lordſhip of *Thorney* in his time to be ſo fruitfull and fragrant, that for delight it reſembled Heaven it ſelfe.

That

That Lordſhip is indeed a large and rich piece of Land, conſiſting of eighteen thouſand Acres, or thereabouts, and pertaineth to the Earles of *Bedford*.

But having loſt the beauty lately mentioned (nay to be plaine) being quite loſt, and perpetually drowned, ſave onely one Hillocke where the Abbey ſtandeth, was the cauſe that induced the late Earle to undertake the drayning of the great Levell. In which ſervice, by reaſon of my imployment under his Lordſhip in the yeare 1635. In deepning *Wisbeach* River, I diſcovered a ſtony bottome, upon which there was found lying at ſeverall diſtances ſeven boates, which for many yeares had laine buried eight foot under the bottome of the River, as it was before the late Earles undertaking. And it is very likely, that when *Thorney* flouriſhed, *Neene* did run as deepe as that bottome.

After this diſcovery, it was intended by the late Earle that the River *Neene* ſhould have been enlarged and deepned from *Wisbeach* to *Stanground* (by the tract of *Mourton Leame*) as now it is from *Wisbeach* to *Guyherne*. And I am very confident that if *Neene* were made a hundred foot broad, and ſo deepe as it is in *Wisbeach* Towne, from *Wisbeach* to *Stanground*, *Thorney Fens* in a few yeares would be as fruitfull and rich as ever they were in *Malmesburies* time, whoſe ſtory is,

That they repreſented a very Paradiſe, for that in pleaſure and delight, it reſembled Heaven it ſelfe, in the very Mariſhes bearing trees, that for their ſtraight tallneſſe, and the ſame without knots, ſtrive to touch the Stars: A Plaine is there as even as the ſea, which with green graſſe alloureth the eye; ſo ſmooth and levell, that if any walk along the fields they ſhall finde nothing to ſtumble at; there is not the leaſt parcell

of

of ground that lieth waſte and void there. Here ſhall you finde the Earth riſing ſome where for Apple trees: there ſhall you have a field ſet with Vines, which either creep upon the ground, or mount on high upon poles to ſupport them: A mutuall ſtriſe there is betweene Nature and Husbandry, that what the one forgetteth, the other might ſupply and produce: what will be ſaid of the faire and beautifull buildings, &c.

This great Levell of Low-Lands, whereof *Thorney* is a part, is almoſt compaſſed about with high Lands, and lyeth betwixt the high Lands and the Sea. The ſuperficies thereof being generally as high as the ſuperficies of the Sea in ordinary Tides, commonly called Neape Tides; But foure or five foot lower than the ſuperficies of the Sea, when the Sea is at the higheſt, which is in the Spring Tides, whereof ſome doe very much exceed others, being ruled by the windes: Such Tides doe happen twenty or thirty dayes in the courſe of a yeare; ſome yeares more than the moſt, and ſome yeares leſſe than the leaſt, as the ſtormy windes doe force the Spring Tides into the Bay, which is betwixt *Burnham* in *Norfolk*, and *Wintborp* in *Lincolnſhire*; whereby it is apparant that the Rivers which are in the Fens cannot empty themſelves into the Sea, but at ſuch times as the Sea floods are returned out of the Rivers to the place from whence they came; By reaſon whereof the Fens are often drowned, two, three, or foure foot deepe, according as the floods are greater or leſſe.

Betwixt the Fens and the Sea there is much good Land that is improved and defended by ſubſtantiall Bankes made of Clay and Silt, which doe preſerve

them from being drowned by the Sea on the one ſide, and the high land waters on the other: The common Fens being at the leaſt five foot higher than ſome of thoſe lands; ſo that the Sea commeth not neare the Fens by ſix miles, or thereabouts.

The freſh water Rivers which doe paſſe through this Levell, are principally *Owſe* and *Neene*: the reſt are but branches that doe fall into *Owſe* at their ſeverall diſtances.

The neereſt way that any part of the River *Owſe* doth run from the high land to the Sea, is thirty ſix miles, but the greateſt part of it runneth fifty ſix miles, or thereabouts.

The River *Neene* runneth through this Levell before it falleth into the Sea, twenty miles, or thereabouts. So much for the ſcituation and condition of the Fens.

The reaſons why the Fens are drowned, are principally ſix.

FIrſt, becauſe the ſuperficies of the Fens lyeth lower than the ſuperficies of the Sea, when the Spring Tides are at the higheſt.

Secondly, becauſe the high land floods muſt of neceſſity paſſe through that great Levell of low Lands, having very little deſcent to enforce a ſtreame from the high Lands to the Sea, but at ſuch times as the Sea floods by retiring themſelves doe leave the Rivers empty, which many times is not above eight houres in twenty foure.

A third reaſon is, the Rivers through which the high Land waters ſhould paſſe, are not large enough to convey

convey them to the Sea, nor are they armed with ſufficient banks to keepe the Sea and Land floods from dilating themſelves over the face of the whole Levell; and it is a hard queſtion, whether the Sea or the Land floods are the moſt potent enemies to the Fenns; but this is moſt certaine, that when the Sea floods and the Land floods meet, as they often times doe, halfe way betwixt the high Lands and the Sea, in that very place like two powerfull enimies joyning in one, they doe over-run the Levell, and drowne it from one end unto the other.

A fourth reaſon why the Fenns are drowned, is occaſioned by the Sea floods, the violence whereof maketh ſo loud a noiſe at the firſt comming into the River *Owſe*, that it is oft times heard by thoſe that are two miles from it; and after the eager is paſt, for the ſpace of foure houres there followeth a mighty flood ſtreame that runneth into the Country neere forty miles; which waters returning more ſlowly, muſt of neceſſity have more time to empty themſelves then was ſpent in receiving them; for thoſe waters which the Sea forces into the Rivers, muſt all returne before the high Country waters can poſſibly be admitted to paſſe. The diſadvantage is very plaine, the high Land waters comming from betwixt the hills are continually running into the Fens, and the Sea floods are continually interrupting and repelling them where they ſhould paſſe out of the Fens into the Sea, and will not ſuffer them to run above foure houres in twelve: which is one chiefe cauſe why the Fens neare *Ely* are ſo often drowned.

A fifth reaſon is the ill diſpoſition of the Sea in thoſe parts, which being troubled by ſtormy windes,

doe carry ſuch abundance of Silt or Sand into the Rivers in the Sommer ſeaſon, that for want of a freſh water ſtreame to waſh them back into the Sea, the Rivers are choked and loſt; which Silt or Sands ſoon after the Spring Tides are paſt doe lie dry, and preſently gaine a firmeneſſe, ſo that men and horſes travell upon them; and in the beginning of Winter they doe much hinder the ſtreame of the high land waters as they preſſe to the Sea, untill by many land floods they are removed and waſhed into the Sea from whence they came; but it is ſo long before that can be effected, in regard the high Land floods compared with the Sea floods, are very weake, that when it is done it is too late for the Country, being ſeldome wrought before the end of Winter: The dryer the Sommer is, the more the Rivers are filled and choked with Silt and Sand againſt Winter; and it is commonly ſeen, that after much drought there falleth much Raine, which oftentimes occaſioneth the greateſt Inundations.

The ſixt and laſt reaſon why the Fens are often drowned, is becauſe there is no Land Eayes to receive the ſurpluſſage of the waters which proceed from Raine and Snow falling upon the high Lands adjacent to the Fens, and to carry them into thoſe Rivers or Draines which are next unto them.

Now I have briefly ſhowne the true cauſes why and how the great Levell of Fens are drowned; I will particularly declare what works muſt be made to draine and preſerve thoſe low Lands from Inundation, ſo that the greateſt part of them may be made Culturable grounds.

TO remove the firſt and ſecond cauſes of Inundation, there muſt be a deſcent gained from the high Lands

Lands to the Sea, which is a work of a double conſequence, and indeed it is one of the greateſt works which is to be effected. The waters in the Fens may be fitly compared to the beame of a paire of Skales when it hangeth Levell, which being raiſed at one end doth at the ſame inſtant ſettle as much at the other; Such a contrivement muſt be made of the fal that is to be gained betwixt the high Lands and the Sea; the one halfe muſt be gained by raiſing the waters next the high Lands by Banks of a convenient heigth, and by ſetling of the waters in that part of the Rivers that is next unto the Sea, which latter work muſt be wrought by mending and enlarging of the old Rivers and Draines where they are crooked, and where they are too narrow, or too ſhallow, and by placing of Sluces to repell the Sea floods.

To remove the third impediment, it is neceſſary that every River and Rivolet ſhould be enlarged to ſuch a breadth and depth as may convey the greateſt Winter floods the neareſt way from the high Land to the Sea, and on either ſide of them to have a continued Bank able to keepe the high Land waters from ſpreading over the ſuperficies of the Fens; the Rivers being ſo perfected, there muſt bee many Draines opened which are now loſt, and ſome new made for the leading of the waters to the next adjacent River. There muſt be alſo many diviſion Dikes which will lead the Raine waters into the neighbouring Draines. The particulars will in this place take up too much time, I will therefore leave them to the Deſigne it ſelfe.

There muſt be a large Sluce placed upon the outfall of *Owſe* that may be able to repell the Sea-floods, and keep up the high Land waters in dry Sommers;

of which kinde there is already one upon the River *Neene*, built by the late Earle of *Bedford*: at which time had *Neene* beene enlarged to a ſufficient bredth and depth, from the Sluce to *Peterborough*, and the Banks continued and maintained on both ſides at the ſame heigth that the Southſide Banks were once made, having a Saſſe placed at *Stanground*, as was intended, to keep all *Neene* to *Wisbeach*, the petty draines and diviſion-dikes being alſo made, That ſide of the Fenns will be perfectly drained; but as it is, there is but a part of that work perfected. The making of Sluces is very chargeable, and ſo difficult, that every Bank-maker doth not underſtand how to place them nor make them; but the advantage which they bring, being well built, cureth the fourth and fifth inconvenience, and indeed is very materiall to the perfect draining of the Fenns.

The laſt work is a great work, and will coſt much money: It is the making of ſo many Land Eayes as may receive the ſurpluſſage of the waters which doe fall upon the high Lands that are next the Fenns, and convey them to the next River, rivolet, or draine, ſo that they may not offend the neighbouring Fenns.

Having acquainted you with the ſcituation and condition of the great Levell, and briefely declared how they may be preſerved from Inundation, I am humbly bold to preſent my deſigne unto this Honourable Court, therein expreſsing every particular work, together with the totall charge and time when the works may be perfected.

TO enlarge *Wisbeach* River from the Sluce to *Guibern*, ſo that it may be twenty foot broader than now

now it is from the top to the bottome, and to take up the two ten foot Banks which do lie hid under water, on each ſide of the River one; and to leave a foreland of thirty foot broad on the ſouth ſide from the brink upwards, being in all ſix meaſured miles, whereof there is one mile halfe wrought by Sir *Cornelius*, at the rate of forty ſhillings the Rod, is, three thouſand five hundred and twenty pounds.

To purchaſe divers Lands and Tenements which doe ſtand upon the brink of *Wisbeach* River, and muſt be removed before the River can be enlarged, with the extraordinary charge of carting the earth out of the Town, may coſt twelve hundred pounds.

To make a wharfe of Brick fourteen foot high, foure foot thick in the bottome, and two foot thick on the top, from *Elme* ſluce to the Town bridge, being an hundred and twenty rods; the ſtuffe, workmanſhip and earth work at the rate of ſeven pounds the rod, will coſt eight hundred and forty pounds.

To make a Cart bridge in *Wisbeach* Town in the ſame place where the old bridge did ſtand, may coſt two hundred and fifty pounds.

To remove the Bank which is now on the ſouth ſide of *Mourton Leame*, ſo farre back, that there may bee thirty foot foreland betwixt the new Bank and the brink of the *Leame*, being ten miles in length, at three ſhillings foure pence the rod, it will coſt ſix hundred and forty pounds.

To make *Mourton Leame* an hundred foot broad from *Guibern* to *Stanground*, it muſt be enlarged fifty ſix foot on the north ſide to the ſame depth which the ſouth ſide now hath, which was ſix foot when it was wrought, being twelve miles in length at twenty foure

foure ſhillings the rod, will coſt foure thouſand ſix hundred and eight pounds.

To make the old and new works as deep as the bottome of *Wisbeach* River, being three foot and a halfe, and with that manure to heighten the Banks on either ſide of the *Leame* leaving thirty foot foreland to each Bank at forty ſhillings the rod, it will coſt ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and eighty pounds.

To Pile the dike Ends, Swamps and low Lands which break off the Banks in many places, and convey by Boat ſo much earth thither as will make the Banks as high there as they will be elſewhere, which may bee Eight foot, may coſt three hundred pounds.

To make an Indike on the ſouth ſide of the ſouth bank twenty five foot broad at *Guibern*, and fifteene foot broad at *Witelſey* high Lands, ſix foot deep at *Guiberne*, and five foot deep at *Witelſey*, at twelve ſhillings the rod, will coſt one thouſand nine hundred and twenty pounds.

To make an Indike on the north ſide of the north Bank twenty foot broad at *Guibern*, and fifteene foot broad at *Stanground*, ſix foot deep at *Guibern* and five foot deep at *Stanground*, at ten ſhillings the rod, it will coſt one thouſand nine hundred and twenty pounds.

To make the twenty five foot draine which is on the north ſide of the *Leame*, two foot deeper than now it is, will coſt three ſhillings the rod, which is five hundred ſeventy ſix pounds.

To make two Cart Bridges over *Mourton Leame* neere *Witelſey* Town, each of them to have two peeres and no more, may coſt three hundred and ſixty pounds.

To make new doores for the Saſſe at *Stanground*, with Spring doores in them that may open on a ſud-

den,

den; and that for the ſafety of the Country in times of danger, ſome part of the extreame floods may be turned into *Witelſey* Meare, and the other adjacent Meares, which being empty, will receive a great water without prejudice to any, may coſt fourſcore pounds.

To place a Brick Saſſe on South *Eay* Draine neare *Guyherne* Croſſe twenty foot broad, the bottome to lie even with the bottome of *Wisbeach* River, with ſpring doores, that may open on a ſudden to receive ſome part of a great flood in times of danger, the draines being empty; this Saſſe may coſt one thouſand foure hundred pounds.

The like Saſſe to be placed on *Bevill Leame*, that in times of danger ſome part of the great floods may be turned into *March* River: it may coſt one thouſand foure hundred pounds.

To make South *Eay* twenty five foot broad, and three foot deeper than now it is, being twelve miles in length, at eight ſhillings the rod, it will coſt one thouſand five hundred thirty ſix pounds.

To make *Cats Water* twenty foot broad, and ſix foot deep, being nine miles in length, at eight ſhillings the rod, it will coſt one thouſand one hundred fifty two pounds.

To open the Shire Draine, and to continue it from *Hills* Sluce to the South Eaſt corner of *Sutton* Marſh, being a mile and a quarter, at twenty ſhillings the rod, is ſix hundred pounds

To make a Brick Sluce twenty foot broad, with two paire of doores to keepe out the Sea, and one paire to keepe up the freſh Waters, to be placed at

the South East corner of *Sutton* Marsh, in regard it must stand very deep on a Sandy foundation: It may cost two thousand foure hundred pounds.

To bring the many crooked Channels which are in the Washes into one straight Channell, is a work that must be first wrought with the Spade, and after that is accomplished, there must bee many Jetties made with Piles, Stones, and Brushwood, to keepe the Channell straight from the lower end of *Wisbeach* River to the Sea Deepe, being a work of great consequence, it may cost foure thousand pound.

Bedford River.

TO make *Bedford* River five foot broader on either side, and three foot deeper than now it is, and to cast all the manure which now lyeth upon the forelands, with that which will be taken out of the bottome of the River upon the Banks, being twenty one miles and a halfe in length, at thirty five shillings the rod, it will cost twelve thousand and forty pounds.

To pile the Dike ends and Swamps, which else will not be able to support the Banks when more waight shall be laid upon them, and to convey by Boat so much earth thither as will make the defective places as high as the Banks are generally else where, may cost foure hundred pound.

To make the two Indikes ten foot broader on the Fen side, and foure foot deeper then now they are, and to cast all the manure that commeth out of them upon the Bank, at ten shillings the rod, for each

Indike,

Indike, it will coſt ſix thouſand eight hundred and foureſcore pound.

To make two Brick Sluces at the outfall of the two Indikes, that each of them may have ſixteene foot waterway, with a paire of doores to keepe out the Sea floods, and a paire of doores to keep up the freſh waters, may coſt two thouſand foure hundred pounds.

To make two Bridges of foure foot broad over *Bedford* River, one at *Welney*, and the other at *Maney*, and to make a Cart Bridge at *Mepell*, may coſt two hundred and forty pounds.

To make the Weſt water twenty five foot broad and ſix foot deep from *Erith* to *Plantwater*, being nineteene miles in length, at twelve ſhillings the rod, it will coſt three thouſand ſix hundred forty eight pounds.

To make a Saſſe in the Northbank of *Bedford* River twenty foot broad, to be placed in the roome of a little Sluce at the entrance of the Weſt water, being within halfe a mile of *Erith*: It muſt have two paire of doores againſt the water in *Bedford* River, that Boats may paſſe at all times, and may coſt one thouſand foure hundred pounds.

To make *Elme Leame* forty foot broad and ſix foot deeper than now it is from *Wisbeach* River to *March* Streame, will mend the outfall of *Wisbeach* River, and maintain the Navigation from *Wisbeach* to *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntington* Shires. The work is ſix miles in length, and will bee very chargeable for the ſpace of a mile, and may therefore coſt five and forty ſhillings the rod, one with

another, which is foure thouſand three hundred and twenty pounds.

To make a Brick Saſſe twenty ſoot broad, where *Elme Leame* falls into *Wisbeach* River, with two paire of doores to keep out *Neene*, and one paire of doors to keep up the back water, may coſt one thouſand eight hundred pounds.

To make two Cart bridges and one ſoot bridge over *Elme Leame*, being made of Oken timber with Brick Pieres, may coſt three hundred and forty pounds.

To make *Witelſey* Meare Draine two ſoot deeper than now it is from *Guyherne* to the Meare, being thirteen miles in length at foure ſhillings the rod, it will coſt eight hundred thirty two pounds.

To make two Cart Bridges over *Witelſey* Meare Draine right againſt *Witelſey* high Lands, may coſt eighty pounds.

Theſe generall works, together with a Land Eaye from *Peterborough* to the Croſſe neere *Crowland* and the diviſion-dikes, will be ſufficient for that part of the Levell which lieth on the north ſide of *Bedford* River, being much about one halfe of the Levell; Provided alwayes that the River *Welland* be kept to its proper outfall, which may be effected by mending the new Bank that the late Earle of *Bedford* cauſed to be made from *Waldram* Hall to *Crowland*, and by maintaining the Queenes Bank at a ſufficient heigth from *Crowland* to *Spalding*, which at this time is much ſetled and in great decay.

The

TO make a Bank of ſix foot high on either ſide of the River *Owſe*, from *Erith* to *Southery* Ferry, on the South and Eaſt ſide, and to *Salters Load* on the North and Weſt ſide, leaving twenty foot foreland between the Banks and the River. Theſe Banks are to be made of the manure which riſeth out of the Indikes, being twenty foot broad, and ſix foot deep: either of theſe Banks will be twenty eight miles in length, and being for the moſt part Silt, will coſt ten ſhillings the rod, which is eight thouſand nine hundred and ſixty pounds.

To make a Bank on either ſide of the River *Grant* from *Harimer* to *Clay Hive*, ſix foot high, leaving twenty foot foreland between the Banks and the River. Theſe Banks are to be made of the manure which riſeth out of the twenty foot Indike, ſix foot deep, being ten miles in length, at ten ſhillings the rod, will coſt three thouſand two hundred pounds.

To take up the Hards or Shoulds which are in the River *Grant*, betwixt *Harimer* and *Cambridge*, being Gravell, Sand, or Chalk, and nine in number, whereof ſome are long and ſome are ſhort, is a work that muſt be performed by a water Engine, which may coſt two thouſand foure hundred pounds.

To maintaine the Navigation from *Lyn* to *Cambridge*, there muſt be a Brick Saſſe made at *Harimer* two and twenty foot broad, with four paire of doores, ſo that the Boats may paſſe at all times, which may coſt ſixteen hundred pounds.

To make another Brick Saſſe at *Harimer* on the Weſt ſide of the great Saſſe, ſixteen foot broad for the waters of the two Indikes of *Owſe* and *Grant*, with two paire of doores to keepe out *Owſe*, and one paire of doores to keepe up the water in Sommer, may coſt twelve hundred pounds.

To make a Brick Saſſe neere *Breame*, ſixteen foot broad, with two paire of doores to keepe out *Owſe*, and one other paire to keepe up the water in the Sommer, to be placed at the outfall of the Indike, which will be betweene *Erith* and *Breame*, on the Northſide of *Owſe*, may coſt twelve hundred pound.

To make *Grunty* Fen Draine twenty foot broad at the outfall, and ten foot broad at the head, and ſix foot deepe, being two miles in length, and a great part of that very deepe worke, it may coſt ten ſhillings the rod, which is three hundred and twenty pounds.

To make the new Draine which is between *Littleport Chaire* and *Turbeſey*, ten foot broader on either ſide, and foure foot deeper than now it is, leaving twenty foot foreland between the River and the Banks; and to caſt the manure which commeth out of the River upon the Banks on either ſide, being three miles and a halfe in length, at forty five ſhillings the rod, will coſt two thouſand five hundred and twenty pounds.

To make a Saſſe twenty foure foot broad, at *Littleport Chaire*, at the lower end of the laſt work, for the preſervation of the Navigation from *Lyn* to *Cambridge*, may coſt two thouſand and two hundred pounds.

To

To make two Indikes of fifteen foot broad and ſix foot deepe, the manure to be caſt upon the maine Banks, may coſt ſix ſhillings the rod, is ſix hundred ſeventy two pounds.

To make two Brick Sluces of ten foot broad at the ends of the two laſt Indikes, may coſt ſix hundred pounds.

To make a Bank on either ſide of *Milnall* River from *Prickwillow* to *Milnall*, ſix foot high, leaving twenty foot foreland betweene the River and the Banks, being eleven miles in length, at ten ſhillings the rod, will coſt three thouſand five hundred and twenty pounds.

To make a Brick Saſſe twenty foot broad, with foure paire of doores, ſo that Boats may paſſe at all times, and to place it at the Lower end of *Milnall* River, may coſt eighteen hundred pounds.

To make a Brick Saſſe for the North Weſt Indike of *Milnall* River, and the South Indike of *Grant*, ſixteen foot broad, with two paire of doores to keepe out *Owſe*, and two other paire of doores to keepe up the water in the Sommer, may coſt twelve hundred pounds.

To make a Dam croſſe the River of *Owſe* at *Turbeſey* to be piled and wrought to the ſame heigth that the Banks are elſe where, may coſt three hundred pounds.

To make a Bank on either ſide of *Brandon* River, from *Prieſts Houſes* to *Brandon*, ſix foot high, leaving twenty foot foreland betweene the Bank and the River, being twenty miles in length, at ten ſhillings the rod, may coſt ſix thouſand foure hundred pounds.

To

To make a Brick Saſſe at the outfall of *Brandon* River, twenty foure foot broad, with foure paire of doores, ſo that the Boats may paſſe at all times, may coſt two thouſand two hundred pounds.

To make a Brick Saſſe for the Weſt Indike of *Brandon* River, and the South Indike of *Owſe*, from *Milnall* Saſſe to *Brandon* Saſſe, ſixteen foot broad, having two paire of doores to keepe out *Owſe*, and two other paire to keep up the water in the Sommer time, may coſt fifteen hundred pounds.

To make a Brick Saſſe at *Southery* Ferry for the Indike which will be on the Eaſt ſide of *Brandon* River, and alſo for the Indike which will be on the Eaſt ſide of *Owſe*, from *Brandon* Saſſe to *Southery* Ferry, ſixteene foot broad, with two paire of doores to keep out *Owſe*, and two other paire of doores to keepe up the water in the Sommer time, it may coſt fifteen hundred pounds.

To remove the Banks of *Feltwell Cut*, ſo that there may be twenty foot foreland on either ſide, and to make the Draine two foot deeper than now it is, being five miles in length, at eight ſhillings the rod, it will coſt ſix hundred and forty pound.

To make an Indike of ten foot broad, and five foot deep on either ſide of *Feltwell Cut*, and to caſt all the manure to the two Banks, at three ſhillings the rod, it will coſt foure hundred and fourſcore pounds.

To make two Brick Sluces at the outfall of the two Indikes, ſix foot broad, with one paire of doores to keepe out *Owſe*, and one other paire to keepe up the water in the Sommer time, may coſt foure hundred pounds.

To

To make a Bank of six foot high on either side of *Stoke* River, from the River *Owse* to *Stoke* Bridge, leaving twenty foot foreland between the River and the Banks, being ten miles in length, at ten shillings the rod, it will cost three thousand two hundred pounds.

To make a Brick Sasse at the outfall of *Stoke* River, twenty foot broad, having foure paire of doores, so that the Boats may passe at all times, may cost eighteen hundred pounds.

To make a Brick Sluce and a Brick Sasse upon the River *Owse* neere *Mandlin* Falls, that may have one hundred sixty foot water way, with double doors in every Arch to keepe out the Sea floods, and Land doores to keepe up the fresh waters; and those Land doores must have Spring doores in them to discharge the fresh waters on a sudden, for the better maintaining and preserving of the Channell from the Sluce to the Sea. The Sluce, the Sluce-pit, and the casting of water, together with the cutting of a new River to and from the Sluce, and making of a Dam in the old River, may cost one and twenty thousand pounds.

To make so many Land Eayes as may convey the downfall of all the high Land waters into their proper streames, so that they may not drown those Fens which are next them, may be a work of one hundred and five miles in length, considering one place with another, they may cost ten shillings the rod, which is sixteen thousand and eight hundred pounds.

The purchasing of Several, through which many of the Draines are to be made, may cost six thousand pounds.

To make Horſe-mills, Tun-mills, Wheele-barrowes, Store-houſes, and work houſes, and to buy Spars, Deals, Nailes, Ginropes, and ſuch like materials which will be uſed in this work, may coſt foure thouſand five hundred pounds.

The making of diviſion Draines may coſt five thouſand pounds.

The Sallary of Officers imployed in this work may in foure years amount to foure thouſand pounds.

It is knowne to Builders that after great care and examination of their intended charge, there will be ſome Nailes omitted. For which reaſon, if you pleaſe, you may caſt the odde money into this eſtimate, and reckon the totall charge to be one hundred and foureſcore thouſand pounds: and that with this caution, that the Springs of the yeares muſt not be loſt for want of money.

The works above mentioned cannot be performed in leſſe time than foure compleat Sommers.

The placing of a great Sluce upon the River *Ouſe* neare *Lyn*, together with thoſe other works which are here deſigned under the title of that River, will draine all the Fenns that are on the Southſide of *Bedford* River, ſo that the greateſt part of them will be culturable grounds; and peradventure it will ſpare the charge of thoſe Banks which are intended to bee made on either ſide of the River *Ouſe*, from *Saliers Boad* to *Little-port*. But the making of that Sluce is a work of ſo great a conſequence, that of my ſelfe I dare not abſolutely reſolve it. It is true that the Fenns are drowned by the high Land waters only, yet as I have ſaid before, the Sea floods are as Potent an

Enemy to the Fenns as the Land floods are. In conſideration wherof, my concluſion is, That the making of a Sluce upon the River *Ouſe*, neare *Lyn*, to keepe out the Sea floods, will undoubtedly prevent and remove one halfe of that cauſe which occaſioneth the drowning of that great and rich Levell.

The objections that will be made againſt the making of that Sluce will be three: And under favour of this Honourable Court, I conceive they will bee weak in compariſon of the great benefit which that work will produce by keeping out the Sea floods.

The firſt objection is, the greatneſſe of the charge.

The ſecond is, the hazzard in placing of it.

The third is, the oppoſitions that *Cambridge* and *Lyn* will make againſt it, in regard of their Navigation, which conſiſteth principally of three parts.

The firſt and greateſt is, whether the repulſing of the Sea floods will impaire *Lyn* Haven or not.

The ſecond is, that for want of a flood Stream, the Keeles muſt of neceſſity make leſſe ſpeed in their paſſage from *Lyn* to *Cambridge*.

The third and laſt objection will be, Some loſſe of time by ſtaying the Keeles at the Sluce, in regard they muſt take their turnes in paſſing through it; which I humbly leave to the grave conſideration of this Honourable Court.

Being serious for the Fens, these objections were once strooke out; for it is not a question whether this be the best way to Drain the Fens or not. These doubts therefore were only inserted in regard of *Lyn* Haven, and the Navigation from *Lyn* to *Cambridge* (as is said before.) But being awfull of what I present to this Great Councell, I durst not omit them: And now having with all care and diligence finished my Designe, I earnestly implore your Noble acceptance, humbly entreating you to heare all, chuse the best, and God grant the Kingdom may flourish in your Honourable Resolves.

BRITISH MUSEUM

FINIS.

19

The Kings Maiesties RESOLVTION CONCERNING YORK-SHIRE.

Together with many other Occurrences concerning His Royall Majestie and the High Sheriffe of that Countie.

Likewise Fearfull and Terrible Newes from *Yorkshire*, *Cheshire*, and all the Northern parts of *England*, concerning the great disturbances which were occasioned by many that rose up in a warlike manner in *Yorkshire*, *May* 19. 1642.

Also how they were resisted by the High Sheriffe of *Yorkshire*, having Order and Command from both Houses of Parliament, to suppresse all those that shall appeare in a Warlike manner in that Countie.

Sandis E

With an Information from *York*, concerning the Lord *Seymer*, the Lord *Savill*, and the Lord *Rich*, &c. And their Answer to the Parliaments Message.

LONDON,
Printed for *J. Horton*. 1642. *May* 25

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LONDON,
Printed for *J. Horton*, 1642. *May* 26

The Kings Maiesties

Resolution concerning Yorke shire.

Loving friend,

After my hearty Commendations remembred unto you, and to your wife, I thought it necessary to send you these Occurrences, writing them with a sad and heavy heart, by reason that there is such a great dissention here in this our County, there is no talke now in these parts but Warres, as we are very fearfull that they will ensue very suddenly, for there is great preparations in this City, and wee dare not say to the contrary; His Royall Majesty is Resolved to stay there as yet, and doth assure us that there shall be nothing done

come contrary to the will of this Kingdome.

The great and manifold dangers which are like to ensue (Courteous and Judicious Reader) are many for these two or three yeares, but I passe them, they have been a Hatching and are now almost come to a full ripenesse, as may appeare by this ensuing Relation.

Vpon this present moneth of May, there hath been many Feares, and Jealousies entring into the hearts of true hearted Protestants in the Northerne parts of *England*, and especially in the County of *Yorkshire*, and they are now fully entred, more is the pitty, we may all say, for they had some hopes that His Majesty and the Honourable High Court of Parliament, would by degrees have assented one with the other, and have all joyn'd with one constancy of mind, for the future and publique good of this Kingdome, but now in the Conclusion they are farre further off then they were at the beginning, and their intentions are more apparantly knowne to the World; For it is absolutely thought that a

Civill

Civill Warre will ſuddainly inſue, unleſſe God of his great mercy ſtirre the intentions of many.

There were many aſſembled together in a warlike manner in the Countie of *Yorkſhire*; but to what intent is not yet knowne, but at laſt each man departed to his owne houſe, yet this is for certain, that there is great preparations for warre made in this County, and divers other adioyning Counties, but to what intent is not yet knowne, it ſtrikes terrour to the hearts of all true Proteſtants, and maketh a great proviſion in this County, ſome of the Malignant party ſaying, that the world will never be good till there be ſome bloud of the Puritan ſhed, but the Lord of his mercy ſend us a ſuddaine prevention, that the bloodthirſty Papiſts may looſe, and miſſe of their intended purpoſes.

There is in this Countie a great number of Papiſts, and likewiſe in many other Countries adioyning to this, and it is thought that they are well provided and furniſhed with great ſtore of Ammunition for Warre, whoſe

designe is to bring a civill Warre upon the face of this whole Kingdome, that while wee are in dissentions among our selves, a Forraigne Enemy may have the more advantage to worke their damnable and mischievous designes.

There was upon the two and twentie day of this Moneth, many that went to his Maiesty, saying they would lay downe their lives for the safety of his Maiesty, it is generally thought there will be suddenly Warres in this County of *York*, and all other places thereabouts, so I rest.

Your Loving Freind
Edward Sanders.

From *Yorke*, *May*, the 22. 1641.

Ano-

Another passage of Note that happened in the County of Yorke

betweene the High Sheriffe of the said County, and certaine men assembled in Armes

THe High Sheriffe of *Yorkeshire*, having Order and Command from both houses of Parliament, to suppresse all those that appeared in a warlike manner in those parts, and having intelligence that there were some that had put themselves into a posture of Warre, He commanded some certaine persons to make towards them with all speed, to certifie the Command he had from both Houses of Parliament, to suppresse all those that appeared in a Warlike manner, they having heard what the Messengers had said, immediately departed from them, and every man withdrew himselfe to his owne home.

An Information Received from *York* the two of May, 1642.

UPon the nineteen day of this present moneth, 1642. the Honourable Houses received Information from *York*, that those Noble men sent for to attend the House, that went thither, without the Houses consent, my Lord *Savell*, my Lord *Sumner*, and my Lord *Rich*, *&c.* had denyed to come; saying, that they were bound by the Oath of Allegiance to serve His Majestie.

Die Martis, 20. *Maii* 1642.

IT is this day Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, That the Magazines of the severall Counties in *England* and *Wales*, shall be forthwith put into the power of the Lord Lieutenants of the said Counties, respectively, (being such as the Parliament doth confide in for the Service and safety of His Majesty and the Kingdome.

Ordered by the Lords in Parliament, That this Order shall be Printed and Published.

Joh. Browne, Cleric. Parl.

THE
Most blessed and truest
NEWES
FROM
IRELAND,

SHEWING,

The fortunate successe of the Protestants, And Gods just vengance on the Rebels.

WITH

A List of the Protestant Commanders, and the chief of the Rebels Commanders, and the Townes that the Protestants have relieved.

With the humble Petition of the Baronets, Esquires, Ministers, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and others peaceably affected in the County Palatine of *Lancaster*, to the Kings most Excellent Majesty.

With his Majesties Answer thereunto.

London,
Printed for *T. W.* and *G. H.* 1642.

A List of the Protestant Commanders, and the chiefe of the Rebels Commanders, and the Towns that the Protestants have releeved.

The Protestant *Commanders*	The chiefe *Rebels.*	Towns releeved *by the Protestants.*
Lord *Ormond.*	Earle of *Care.*	*Athy.*
Lord *Brabason.*	L. Vis. *Mountgarret*	*Killtrush.*
Earle of *Baramore.*	L. Vis. *Ikerin.*	*Drogheda.*
Lord *Lisly.*	Lord *Dunsany.*	*Cast. Tippar.*
Earle of *Kildare.*	L. Bar. of *Dunbony.*	*Castle Catherlaugh.*
S. *George Wentworth*	L. Bar. of *Logmoe.*	*Cloughgreuan.*
Captain *Armstrong*	Earle of *Wicklee.*	*Wicglee.*
Lord *Pore.*	Earle of *Waxford.*	*Ballilenon.*
S. *Thomas Lucas.*	Ear. of *Catherlaugh*	*Cast. Robon.*
Lord *Thomond.*	Lord *Muskro.*	*Stradbally.*
Sir *Rich. Greenvile.*	Lord *Loustan.*	*Ballinekill.*
Colonell *Monk.*	Lord *Delvin.*	*Dent.*
Captain *Scout.*	Lord *Ashle.*	*Knockardnegurrath.*
Lord *Lambart.*	Col. *Fitz Gerard.*	*Burros.*
Lieut. Col. *Loftus.*	Captaine *Demsey.*	*Knocknemease.*
Sir *Iohn Sherlock.*	Col. *Hugh Birne.*	*O Duns.*
Serj. Major *Warren.*		*Pettenhint.*
Serj. Major *Paget.*		*Clogham.*
Serj. Ma. *Willoughby*		*Kingsale.*

Blessed Newes from Ireland.

SIR,

SInce many idle rumours are divulged among you, concerning the present condition of *Ireland*, some of which are improbable, other are so doubtfull, that men have just cause of suspition not to believe. My purpose is therefore at this time intended perfectly to resolve you of the truest affaires, and most reall estate of all *Ireland*. The Lord *Ormond*, the Earle of *Kildare*, the Lord *Brabanon*, Cap. *Armstrong*, Quarter-master Generall of the Horse, and Sir *George Wentworths* troupe, under the command of Captaine *Herman*, every one with their severall forces overcame the Castle *Tipper*, which the Rebels had possest, taking from thence great store of *Ammunition*, who marching onwards with great courage to *Kiltullin*, burned by the way many Villages of the Rebels; and from thence marching to *Athy*, burnt the Castle and Towne of *Kilcrash*, belonging to the Rebellions Colonel *Fitz-Gerald*; from thence they took great store of provision, which the rebels before had taken from the *English*. Then Sr. *Patrick Wymes* bringing us a fresh supply of souldiers, consisting of 500. Foot, and 100. Horse, the *English* Army marched to the Castle of *Catherlagh*, where the Lord *Feltrin*, Earle of *West-Meath*, the Lord *Mountgarret*, the Lord *Loupon*, resisted them

 with

with ſtrõg forces, but our men had undaunted ſpirits, and feared them not in the leaſt reſpect, and wee having the advantage of them, being on a hil, gave them three ſollies of ſhot, before they came within ſhot of us, and continuing very eager with them, we took the L. *Muskgroo* priſoner, & ſlew about nine ſcore more, then they fled & yeelded up the Caſtle. From thence we marched to *Cloughgrenan*, a caſtle of great ſtrength, and conquered that alſo; but the Rebels perceiving their approach, fired the towne; but Captain *Harman* knowing that part of the Countrey very well, followed them, and ſlew a great number of them, and relieved 5 hundred Proteſtants, exceedingly diſtreſſed there. Then we marched on, and relieved Captaine *George Grehams* Caſtle called *Ballilenon*; and by the help of the Lord Lievtenants, and Sir *Thomas Lucas* troops, *Caſtle Reban* and *Pere* were removed. Marching to *Stradbally*, we ſlew many paſſing over the River *Barton*, where the Rebels are encamped; and marching to his Majeſties fort of *Mary-borough*, by the helpe of the Lord *Liſlyes* forces, they relieved *Ballynekill*: Marching onwards, wee killed threeſcore Rebels at *Knockardnegurrah*, the other fled, and yeelded up the towne. The Lord *Lievtenant*, the Earle of *Baramore*, the Lord *Poore*, Earle of *Allenia*, the Lord *Thomond*, Sir *Thomas Lucas*, Sir *Richard Greenvile*, Captaine *Armeſtrong*, and Captaine *Stoal*, with their ſeverall Troups & Forces, relieved *Burros*, the Duke of *Buckinghams* Caſtle, and paſſing the River *Noare*, neere unto *Florence*, *Fitz-Patrick*, there was a ſtone Cauſe-way over a Bog, and paſſing thereby, we killed many Rebels, and relieved three hundred Engliſh Priſoners. Then they relieved *Knockneneaſe*, and in

the

the morning *Burr*, and put foure or five hundred English therein, who had endured a long siege by the rebels. In their returne back they burnt the Country of *O Dunn*, till they came to *Castle-Ruffe*, and by the help of Colonell *Monke*, and Captaine *Tresuel*, the one commanding the *Lord Generals*, and the other the Lord *Lisles* Horse-Troops, slew foure hundred at the passage of *Portnehint*, possest by the rebels. S. *Patricke* relieved the English in *Ballynekill*, who were in great distresses for want of victuals, sending the eighty Barrels of Wheat and Beere belonging to *Dempsey*, a notorious rebell: all whose villages they burnt, especially the Territory of *Clanmaleero*. Foure miles from *Athy* at the Bridge of *Magainy*, were about seven thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse of the rebels, conducted (as the Prisoners taken told us) by Viscount *Mountgarret*, the Lord Viscount *Iberin*, the Earle of *Care*, the Lord *Dunsane*, the Lord *Astry*, the Lord Baron of *Dunboyne*, the Baron of *Loghmoe*, and most of the principall rebels, of the Counties of *Wickloe*, *Wexford*, *Catherlaugh*, *Kildare*, *Kilkenny*, and *Queens County*, who drew up part of their Forces to *Pankardstown*, neere *Grang Mellan*. By the directions of the Lord Generall, Cornet *Butler*, and Cornet *Magrab*, were sent to discover the rebels, and their Forces being understood to be so great, a Councell of of Warre was called, and it was debated what resolution was fittest to be taken. It was concluded, that two thousand foure hundred foot, and foure hundred horse should be raised against them, and put into this order of marching: First, Cornet *Pollard*, with thirty Horse and forty Firelocks, as a Vantcurriers, and forlorne hope. Then the baggage belonging to the

horse-

horſe. In the next place ſix Troops of horſe led by Sir *Tho. Lucas*, Comiſſary Generall for the Horſe in two diviſions. Then followed the baggage of the foot *Vieres*. Next Captain *Edmund Matthew*, the Lord *Pillon*, ſon to the Earle of *Roſcommon*, the Lord *Brabaſon*, ſonne to the Earle of *Meath*, Sir *Robert Farrer*, Collonell *John Barry*, Serjeant Major *John Oagle*, every one in the ſeverall ranks and orders. Then followed foure diviſions of foot, each conſiſting of three hundred. The Artillery and Ammunition followed. Then two Troops of horſe by Sir *Richard Greenvile*, after him Lievtenant *Devalier*. And the Lord *Ormund* marched in the reere. On the left hand there lay of the rebels, the Lord *Mounigarret*, *Earle* of *Carr*, and Colonell *Hugh Birne*: againſt them marched Sir *John Sherlocke*, Lieutenant Collonell of the Lord *Lambarts* regiment, Lievtenant Collonel *Leſius*, Serjeant Major *Warren*, Serjeant Maior *Pagett*, Seriant Maior *Willoughby*, and encountred very ſharply with them, and ſlew three hundred and ſeventy rebels, and the reſt fled. They have taken *Waterford*, *Arkloo*, *Waſſford*, and ſome other Towns, but we hope to recover them very ſuddenly. And when more happy fortune, and convenient ſucceſſe ſhall be given us, I will tranſport the truth thereof unto you. In the meane time, I beſeech you to accept the affectionate love of,

From *Aiby*, *May* 14. 1642.

Your moſt indulgent friend,

John Barry.

To the Kings most Excellent Maiesty:

The humble Petition of the Baronets, Esquires, Ministers, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and others peaceably affected in the County Palatine of *Lancaster*.

Shewing to Your Sacred Majesty,

OVr heart-breaking sense and sorrow for the unhappy Rents and Distractions in your Majesties Dominions, especially in the Session of so grave and godly an Assembly, (most graciously conveened by Your Majesty) endeavouring the glory of Almighty God in the Reformation of Religion, and the honour and weale of Your Majesty, and Your Realms, in setling and securing your Royall Throne in plenty & peace. But perceiving the long and remote distance of your Majesty from that Honourable Assembly, to have distracted the hearts of your good Subjects, and animated the Popish and malignant party amongst us, and fearing it may expose us to the danger and fury of a forraigne foe, retard the setling of the weighty affaires in our Land, and the subduing of the Rebels in *Ireland*; and finding your Majesties late resolution for that expedition, to threaten danger to your Royall Person, farre more worth then ten thousand of us.

We therefore your Majesties most loyall Subjects out of our zeale to Gods true Religion, your Majesties honour and safety, and the peace and welfare of your Dominions; and out of the deepe sense and apprehension of our interest in the same, do in all humility present and prostrate our selves, and supplication at your Royall feet, beseeching your Majesty to return to your great Councell (the representative body of your Kingdome) in whom this Nation hath so farre confided, that they have intrusted them with their lives, liberties; and in which multitude of Counsellours there is health and stedfastnesse, and whereby the Royall Throne may be established in Righteousnesse, and we with the rest of your Faithfull Subjects shall continually praise and pray for your prosperous and happy Raigne over us.

At the Court at Yorke *the* 10 *of* May, 1642.

His Majestie hath expressely commanded me to give you this His *Answer* to your *Petition*.

THat this Petion, as some others of this nature is grounded upon mis-information, and being grieved and highly offended to see how his good people have been and are abused by the false rumors and intelligences, which have procured causlesse feares and apprehensions, referres the Petitioners to the Answers hee hath given to the Declaration presented to Him at Newmarket, *and to the Petition presented to Him the* 26. *of* March *last at* Yorke, *wherein His Majesty saith, you will clearely perceive, that He is not gone but driven from his* Parliament: *His Majesty likewise for your further information of His proceedings and intentions, recommends to your view and consideration, His two Messages, and Declaration concerning* Hull, *and His Message touching the Reasons of His refusall to grant the* Militia, *all which, when they shall be fully represented to the rest of your County, He doubts not, but that you will rest very well satisfied of His consent and resolution for the maintaining of, and governing His people by the Law of the Land, His unmoveable resolution for the maintenance and defence of the true Protestant Profession, and the suppression of the barbarous* Irish *Rebellion, and His Majesty saith, That he believes you may then finde reason to petition the Parliament to comply with his Majesties just desires, and gracious offers, which is the only way safely and speedily to cure, the present distractions of this Kingdom, and with Gods blessing to put a happy end to the Irish rebellion: for the effecting whereof, as his Maiesty hath often said, he will neither spare paines, nor decline any hazzard of his Person or fortune.*

Edward Nicholas.

FINIS.

EXCEPTIONS

AGAINST

22

Sir *Cornelius Virmudens* Diſcourſe

For the

DRAINING

of the great Fennes, &c.

Which

In Ianuary 1638. he preſented to the King for his Deſigne.

Wherein

His Majeſty was miſ-informed and abuſed, in regard it wanteth all the eſſentiall parts of a Deſigne.

And the great and advantagious workes made by the late Earle of Bedford, ſlighted; and the whole Adventure diſparaged.

Publiſhed

By *Andrewes Burrell*, Gent.

Printed at London by *T. H.* and are to be ſold by *Robert Conſtable*, at his ſhop in Weſtminſter Hall. 1642.

To the Honourable Committee for the Great Fens in Northfolke, Southfolke, Cambridge, Huntington, Northampton, and Lincolne Shires, &c.

IN my late attendance upon this Honorable Committee, I have obſerved much care, and many earneſt deſires in divers Noblemen and Gentlemen of all degrees for the compoſing and directing of the great and hopefull works of Draining; ſo that moſt of the Fens above mentioned may bee made winter grounds, a worke indeed as good as great, deſerving much care and incouragement: To ſpeake truth, a worke ſo royall, that being well effected, it will be able to reward all thoſe that have or ſhall befriend it. So large, ſo beneficiall, that the whole Kingdome ſhall taſte of your goodneſſe in perfecting that noble deſigne. Such thoughts as theſe, together with your Order of the 25. of February laſt, invited me to preſent unto your Wiſedomes theſe few exceptions againſt Sir Cornelius Virmudens myſticall diſcourſe, wherein you may plainly perceive his deſigne doth rather diſſwade them incourage ſuch as are willing to be adventurers, being ſo dark, that no man, though experienced, can finde by what workes the Levell ſhall bee drained, nor how much money they ſhall run themſelves out of purſe that are the adven-

turers, and being out of purse they shall bee out of hope: For there is no time proposed for them to reape the fruit of their great expences. I offer this the rather, to shew you that a worke of so great a consequence ought not to bee led by any one mans designe, much lesse by such as that which craftily speakes of bounding the waters, but leaves himself at liberty to spend what he list, and to performe the worke when he can: And it is a question whether ever or no. For in the disposing of twenty three thousand five hundred pounds, he hath already misspent sixteene thousand pounds of the Kings money. In all which observations I have with a sincere heart dealt plainly, truly, and cleerly in that which I have said; not onely for the satisfaction of this Honourable Committee, but of all others that either are or shall be interessed in that honourable worke. Wherefore my hope is that there will be as ready an acceptance of these my endeavours, as they are freely and willingly tendred by him that is humbly bold to subscribe himself a devoted servant to the Commonwealth:

A. B.

Exceptions againſt Sir *Cornelius Vir-mudens* Diſcourſe for the draining of the great Fens, &c.

FIrſt the Kings Majeſty was informed by Sir *Cornelius*, that above a hundred thouſand pounds expended by the late Earle of Bedford was miſ-ſpent, the Fens being little or nothing the better. In which information Sir *Cornelius* omitteth twenty three thouſand pounds diſburſed in the intended draining of Deeping Fens, and the forbearance of all the moneyes expended in both the adventures. P. g. 2. line 4.

Secondly, his Majeſty was informed, that the great Levell conſiſting of foure hundred thouſand Acres being made winter grounds, would be worth ſix hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*, and upwards; and a great and certaine Revenue to all the parties intereſſed. The interpretation of the latter words bearing a doubtfull ſenſe, I humbly leave to be expounded by your grave Wiſedomes. By this diſcourſe the Kings Majeſty did receive great encouragement to move him to undertake the Adventure. But in all the diſcourſe I doe not finde that his Majeſty was informed what workes ſhould bee made, nor what his charge would be, nor when the workes would bee finiſhed. So that in truth although Sir *Cornelius Virmudens* intent was Pag. 2. line 22.

to ſet bounds to the waters, he wiſely left himſelfe at liberty, for in his diſcourſe to the Kings Majeſty, hee is not bounded, but may make what bankes hee liſt, and ſpend what money he liſt, without any limitation of time; and the truth is, hee had as good reaſon to make uſe of the time, as of any of the former priviledges, as will appeare unto you in the concluſion of this Diſcourſe.

I am credibly informed by Sir *Philoberto Virnate*, and divers others, that the Bankes and Draines which Sir *Cornelius* directed to be made in Yorkſhire Levell, did riſe to ſo great a charge, that every Acre that was allotted to thoſe Adventurers did coſt them at the leaſt nine pounds, beſides the forbearance of their money for many yeares. And if the Kings part of this Levell being one hundred and forty thouſand Acres, ſhould coſt his Majeſty ſo much money as that Levell did coſt thoſe Adventurers *pro rata*, it would riſe to one million two hundred & ſixty thouſand pounds, which at ſixteene yeares purchaſe is five hundred and thirteene thouſand pounds more then the Kings part would bee worth when the Fens were made Winter Grounds.

My reſolution is grounded upon the Yorkſhire improvement, which being raiſed to the beſt condition that either the Dutch, French, or Engliſh Ploughes could advance it, being ſufficiently drained for tenne or twelve yeares already paſt (if the Bankes had not failed, as ſome years they did) yet the undertakers part is not now worth a Noble an Acre, one Acre with another, as Sir *William Roſſell*, Knight and Baronet, and Sir *Philoberto Virnate*, being both of them deeply

ly intereſſed in that Levell; And divers Dutch and Frenchmen that have plowed and reaped there, informe me, many of the Dutch and Frenchmen that were Tenants there, being at this preſent forced to leave that Levell, in regard it is in continuall danger of drowning: All which being undoubtedly true, I am humbly bold to ſay that Sir *Cornelius* did extreamly abuſe the Kings Majeſty when he informed him that the Great and Vaſt Levell mentioned in his Diſcourſe, (being made Winter Grounds) would bee worth ſix hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*. Nor is it likely that when the whole Levell ſhall bee made Winter Grounds, that it will bee worth one hundred twenty ſix thouſand pounds *per annum*: In regard the greater halfe of the Levell was (and for ought I know will be) allotted for Commons, whoſe improvement moving in a ſlow motion, will much abate the validity of the reſt. Beſides, in this Diſcourſe many thouſand Acres are intended for Receptacles and Beds for the common waters, foure or five thouſand Acres being appointed for that purpoſe in one corner of the Levell. Pag.30.lin.21. Pag.37.lin.24.

My third exception is, that Sir *Cornelius Virmudens* diſcourſe is contrived in a myſticall way, with many impertinent objections and anſwers in it, of purpoſe to dazle the Kings apprehenſion of the worke; telling him of many Inconveniences, of Great and Vaſt Expence, the drowning of many Towns, Difficulties, Inundations, Uncertainties: And in another place of Dangers, Great and Vaſt Expences, multitudes of Bankes, very chargeable to maintaine, and Windcatches, that will breake the Bankes, and undoe all againe. And after all theſe affrightments promiſeth to lead the Rivers Pag.17.lin.17. Pag.21.lin.10. Pag.7.lin.8. Pag.7.lin.24. Pag.9.lin.7. Pag.12.lin.6. Pag.13.lin.7. Pag.8.lin.21. Pag.9.lin.14.

Rivers about another way, &c. And ſoone after to ingratiate himſelfe with his Majeſty, in commendations of his owne ſervice, tells him of great thrift mixt with ſafety and profit; to no other end but to delude his Majeſty. For from the firſt to the laſt, he doth not declare what workes ſhall be made, nor what the charge will amount unto, as is ſaid before.

Pag. 14. lin. 3.
Pag. 15. lin. 5.
Pag. 16. line 3.

Pag. 3. line 1. There was a Commiſſion granted by the Kings Majeſty to have the drayning works which the late Earle had made, viewed, and conſidered in the place; but the King was extreamly abuſed in the execution of it; I marvell Sir *Cornelius* doth mention it in regard hee denyed to performe his part of the charge.

Pag. 7. lin. 24. Sir *Cornelius* confeſſeth that Peterborough, Erith, and many other Townes, will bee drowned by reaſon of his Bankes, unleſſe much Land bee wafted in Forelands and Receptacles, which in deed is a truth of the greateſt conſequence in all his diſcourſe.

For in the firſt place it is granted that the Townes will be in danger of drowning.

Secondly, In reſpect of many hundred Acres of fruitful Meadowes, which lying lower then the rowns, being often drowned, will be more prejudiciall to the Owners thereof, then it can be prejudiciall to the Inhabitants of the Townes. But the moſt conſiderable danger is the condition of the ſtuffe, whereof the banks muſt be made: In regard the greateſt part of the Level is a light Moore, which hath no ſolidity in it, for being dry it is ſo ſpungy that it will both Burne and Swim; and is ſo hollow that a Banke which is this yeare large and firme to the eye, in foure or five yeares will ſhrinke to leſſe then halfe the proportion which it had at the firſt making.

Pag. 7. lin. 13.
Pag. 6. lin. 3.

Third-

Thirdly, it is ſo light, that when the waters do beat upon them, in regard of the large ſpace which Sir *Cornelius* intendeth to leave for Receptacles, thoſe light hollow counterfeit Bankes cannot preſerve the Countries on either ſide from Inundation, as hath often happened in Yorkſhire, and as hath already happened to divers Bankes, which Sir *Cornelius* hath cauſed to bee made for the King this laſt Summer, which cannot now be mended and made ſo high as they were when they were firſt made for fifteene hundred pounds, and have coſt already at the leaſt three hundred pounds to preſerve them as they now are: So that the danger and charge of making many Receptacles with Bankes on either ſide of them, will bee ſo uncertaine and vaſt an Expence, that there will bee no end of the charge nor ſafety in truſting unto Bankes ſo made. Pag 8. lin. 21. Pag. 12. lin. 6. Pag. 13. lin 7. Pag. 13. lin. 7.

Whereas it was intended that part of Glene and all Welland ſhould bee conveyed in a new Chanell to Mourton Leame, and ſo to Wisbeach Outfall, that diverſion will cauſe the Outfall of Welland and Glene to be filted up and choaked; ſo that that part of Glene which ſhould bee left, would have no paſſage to the Sea: and conſequently that conceit would occaſion the drowning of the Lands that lye on either ſide of Welland from Waldram Hall to Spaulding: And all thoſe other Lands which doe lye on the Northſide of Glene, whoſe downefall iſſues in Tunnels under Glene by the Outfall of Welland and Glene, (Thoſe of Deeping and the Lands laſt mentioned being a very rich and fertile ſoyle.) Neither is it likely that Welland with halfe Glene will be ſo diverted, Welland of it ſelfe being many times a very violent River, overtopping Pag. 13. lin. 28. Pag. 18. lin. 5. Pag. 10. lin. 28

topping all the Bankes that ſhould preſerve Deeping Fennes from Inundation on the North and Weſt ſides thereof, and Porſon Bankes on the Eaſt: So that it many times indangers all Holland, in regard the ancient Bankes cannot guide it from the High Lands to the Outfall, according to the intention of thoſe that made them. And how likely it is that ſuch unruly waters being put both into one, can be led in a Tract of tenne miles in length, through a Levell Fenne into a River already overcharged with its own water, let the world judge.

The King was adviſed, that a Saſſe or navigable
Pag.14.lin.22. Sluce being ſet at Waldram Hall, would ſcoure the Outfall, (which words cannot be underſtood to be other then the Outfall of Welland, which is very much impaired for want of a freſh water Streame, notwithſtanding many thouſand pounds were lately ſpent by the late Undertakers to deepen the Chanell of Welland, and to heighten the Bankes that are on either ſide thereof. Wherefore ſeeing that heretofore all Welland and all Glene could not maintaine their Outfall
Pag.18 lin 5. when they were ſo ſtrong, that they would not bee
Pag.10.lin.28. bounded. He is miſtaken that doth beleeve, that when all Welland and part of Glene ſhall bee turned into Mourton Leame, and ſo to Wisbeach Outfall, a Saſſe or Navigable Sluce at Waldram Hall can ſcoure the Outfall of Welland, being thirteene miles diſtant, and which for want of a Sluce below Spaulding to repulſe the Sea flouds, is already ſo loſt, that it is almoſt reduced to the ſame condition that it was in before the laſt undertaking: And if Welland & part of Glene ſhould be carried to Wisbeach Outfall, I am confident that in

two

two or three Summers the Outfall of Glene will bee filled up, and utterly loſt.

Sir *Cornelius* confeſſeth that Deeping Fens are very low grounds, and conceiveth they can hardly be drained, unleſſe Welland bee turned to Wisbeach. It is from the North ſide of Deeping Fens to the Outfall of Welland neare Foſdike eight miles, or thereabouts: and as I ſaid before, for want of a Sluce to keepe out the Sea flouds, Welland is filled and choaked with Sand: So that at this time Deeping Fens are drowned almoſt as bad as they were before the late undertaking. And if Welland ſhould be turned by Guyherne to Wisbeach Outfall, in ſtead of eight miles, the waters in Deeping Fens muſt paſſe by a tract of twenty ſeven miles, or thereabouts, to the Outfall of Wisbeach, which in my opinion is a very great miſtake, and will be the loſſe of Deeping Fennes, and all thoſe Lands which are drained by the Outfall of Welland. To prevent this miſchiefe there are many new deviſes or contrivements to ſupply thoſe wants by way of a Collection, but at the laſt the King and Country are left to be reſolved a yeare after Tryall, at which time in my opinion all will be nought. Pag. 15. lin. 2. Pag. 18. lin. 11.

Next Sir *Cornelius* tels the King that the Low Country practice is to make a Pan, and every Tide to take the Sea water into it, and ſo to keepe open the Outfals. But this is the weakeſt propoſition in all the diſcourſe. And I dare be bold to ſay, there is not a Gentleman in all the Levell, but he doth know that there is ſo much Silt or Sand in the Sea flouds, that if ſuch Pans were made, in two or three yeares they would be ſo filled with Silt or Sand, that the Sea flouds would ſeldome Pag. 19. lin. 3.

or never overflow them. And the certaine truth is, that that conceit is but a ſhift at the beſt.

Pag.16.lin.12 Welland is leſſe then Neene, yet by Sir *Cornelius Vermudens* favour, before the late Earles undertaking, Neene dilating it ſelfe over the face of the Fens, did at laſt iſſue into the Sea by Wisbeach, Salters Load, and Little Port, and being ſo divided, Neene and Welland were ſiſters, ſo like each other, that whoſoever knew their length, bredth, depth, and motions through the Townes of Wisbeach and Spaulding, to their ſeverall Outfals, would beleeve them to be Twins. It is true that of late yeates when the winter flouds are at the higheſt, a great part of Welland flouds forſake
Pag. 17. lin.2. their proper Chanell, and paſſing through Crowland empty themſelves into Burrow and Thorney Fens, and after ſteale into the Sea by Wisbeach Outfall: But the reaſon why Welland ſeekes helpe of Neene, is not becauſe the Fens on either ſide of Welland are higher then the Fens on either ſide of Neene, as Sir *Cornelius* affirmeth: For in another place hee confeſſeth Deep-
Pag.15.line 2. ing Fens to be very Low grounds, but becauſe Wel-
Pag.16, lin.12 land is filled with Silt or Sand for want of a Sluce to repulſe the Sea Flouds. For at this time Welland is not halfe ſo deepe as it was made by the late Undertakers of Deeping Fen: Whereas Neene having a Sluce below Wisbeach, the Towne and Country is preſerved from Salt and Brackiſh water, and the River from being filled with Silt or Sand; inſomuch that every yeare from the Sluce to Guyherne, being ſix meaſured miles, Neene groweth into a better condition then the late Earle left it, being at this time ſix, ſeven, and in ſome places eight foot deeper then Welland; whereby it is

appa-

apparant that Sluces to repulſe the Sea flouds, are of ſingular uſe for the draining of the Fens. But I beleeve the Art of Sluce making is ſo hard to attaine, that Sir *Cornelius* cannot learne it, my ſelfe having ſeene foure Sluces made by his direction, in and neare the Bankes of Sutton Marſh, which were ſaid to coſt eleven thouſand pounds, and they are every one of them ſunke and loſt: the latter of them was made for the King, and did coſt at the leaſt three thouſand pounds of the money.

There is betwixt Wisbeach and the Outfall of Neene a ſtrong Sluce, which this ſeven yeares hath repulſed the Salt waters, Silt and Sands, which would elſe have filled and choaked Neene, as it hath filled and choaked Welland: For they were both deepned alike at one inſtant, but ſince that time Neene is grown larger, and Welland is much impaired. This Sluce Sir *Cornelius* intended to deſtroy, becauſe he thought it not large enough to receive Neene and Welland, by cutting a Paſſage for Neene beſide it, ſo that the Sea Flouds ſhould flow into Neene, as they doe into Welland. His words concerning it are very doubtfull; I pray obſerve them; That work did coſt the late Earle and his friends at the leaſt ſix thouſand pounds, and is large enough to receive Neene with ſome additions, for it doth already receive a great part of Welland, as is ſaid before. And if there were Reaſon or any Poſſibility to force Welland to Wisbeach, it were better to inlarge the Sluce, then to deſtroy it. Pag. 23. lin. 14.

It is moſt certaine that Neene did anciently runne through Wisbeach Towne upon a ſtony bottome, as low as now it doth, and that in proceſſe of time the

ancient ſtony bottome was loſt, and the River filled with Silt, ſo that when the late Earle beganne his Undertaking, the then bottome of Neene in Wisbeach Towne was higher then the ancient Stony bottome by eight foot at the leaſt; in all which growth of the Silt there was not any ſtones found untill the aforeſaid ſtony bottome was accidentally diſcovered to be two foot lower then the late Earle intended to deepen Neene. Upon which ſaid ſtony bottome there was found at ſeverall diſtances ſeven Boats that lay buried eight foot under the bottome of Neene, as it was before the late Earle began his workes. Sir *Cornelius Virmuden* words grounded upon the report of Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, are, That anciently the Waters of Welland and Neene went to the Sea by Wisbeach Outfall. And it is very probable, that if ever Welland went to the Sea by Wisbeach, it was when Neene ran upon the aforeſaid Stony Bottome.

Pag. 16. lin. 31.

That which I deſire to offer to your grave conſiderations, is this, That admitting Welland did paſſe with Neene to the Sea, and that thoſe two Rivers being joyned in one, did runne upon the aforeſaid ſtony Bottome, and that at that time the Fennes on that ſide of the Levell were ſo well drained, as ſome of our Hiſtories doe report. It is apparant that Wisbeach Outfall notwithſtanding both their forces did decay, and that ſince that time the River Neene was filled with Silt or Sand (as I have ſaid before.) And if Welland were now turned into Neene, and that both Welland and Neene did paſſe together into the Sea by Wisbeach Outfall, as formerly it is like they did: I do not finde in all the diſcourſe why Neene may not be loſt hereafter

as

as well as it was in the times that are past. Nay there are Reasons in his discourse to prove it will bee lost sooner now then heretofore. P 5.lin.30.

My defence of the Sluce below Wisbeach, hath no regard of the charge which it cost the late Earle and his friends, nor of the paines I tooke in the building of it; I onely looke upon the mischiefes which will follow if the Sea flouds should be suffered to run into the Levell, and they are many, and very considerable.

First by making of high Bankes not regarding whether there bee a River or not, the Sea and the Land Flouds meeting in Mourton Leame, will rise so much higher then formerly they did, that they will oftentimes drowne many hundred Acres of fruitfull meadowes, lying above Peterborough, and a great part of the Towne, as is said before.

Secondly, the condition of the Fen Soyle is generally so spungy, light and hollow, that a Banke which is made tenne foot high this yeare, will not bee five foot high foure or five yeares after. And consequently they will be lower and lower, which is proved (beyond all Arguments) in the Bankes of Bedford River, which were made seven, and in some places eight foot high, but are now so shrunke, that in many places they are not three foot high. And it is but six yeares since they were made. Pag.6.lin.3. Pag.7.lin.13.

Thirdly, Bankes made of a light spungy substance are extreamly subject to swim, wash, and weare away, so that the Winter flouds doe many times make great Breaches in them, as hath often happened to those Fens which were lately drained by Bankes in Yorkshire, to their extreame losse that were the first adventurers in that Levell. Pag.8.lin.22. Pag.13.lin.10.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, if the Sea ſhould be ſuffered to flow into Neene, the Flouds will run ſo high as Peterborough, and thereby will fill the Fens which are on either ſide of Mourton Leame with brackiſh or ſalt water all the Summer ſeaſon, which will be very hurtfull both for men and beaſts. But by Sluces the Countries may be continually repleniſhed with freſh and wholſome waters in the dryeſt Summers.

4 Fiftly and laſtly, if there bee no Sluces to keepe up the freſh waters in dry Summers, the waters will run ſo low in that River, when it is filled with Silt, that it will be impoſſible to repleniſh the draines and ditches with freſh water, when the Country wanteth it. And it is moſt certaine, that many times the Country will ſo want it, that there will not bee water for the cattell to drinke. Nor for the Boates to paſſe from place to place (as formerly they have done) ſo that the Navigation of that country will be extreamly hindred, if not totally loſt.

I finde in his diſcourſe divers opinions concerning his Forelands and Receptacles. Firſt that thoſe lands
Pag. 12. lin. 22. will bee made meadowes by the fatneſſe of the white waters, which indeed is poſſible, but it muſt bee expected in after ages.

Pag. 12. lin. 30 Secondly, that his Receptacles will bee no loſſe of ground, which I leave as a Myſtery.

Pag. 30. lin. 1. In a third place there is foure or five thouſand Acres expoſed to the common waters in one Receptacle. But if Sir *Cornelius* had dealt ingenuouſly in his diſcourſe, he ſhould have declared how many thouſand Acres he intended to expoſe to the common waters in all his Forelands and Receptacles. For it is not a few thouſands

ſands of Acres that can receive thoſe floods which were wont to drowne the whole Levell. And if this Exception were rightly conſidered, it will much abate the unexpected benefit of ſix hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*, promiſed his Majeſty in the beginning of his Booke. Pag. 2. lin. 22.

This Exception conſiſteth of three parts, and is of as great concernment as any one particular in all his Diſcourſe. For from the firſt to the laſt, Sir *Cornelius* doth not mention the inlarging and deepning of any River: And it is Rivers that ſhould convey the waters to the Sea. The intended Bankes are ſaid to be ten, eleven, or twelve foot high, whereby it may be conjectured that the Flouds will riſe ſix, ſeven, or eight foot high betwixt Banke and Banke, by reaſon whereof the ſtormy windes will have ſo much power upon the waters, that it is moſt true and certain, that thoſe Light Hollow Haſſocke Bankes cannot defend the Countries on either ſide from Inundation. Pag. 10. lin. 21

I can prove by twenty witneſſes, that it was a thouſand to one, that the Banke made in Walterſey did not breake the laſt Winter, and that Sir *Cornelius* himſelfe confeſſed, that he knew not how to ſave it; and at the ſame time intreated one of my Tenants (that was in danger of loſing a crop of Coleſeed worth five hundred pounds) to ſet as many men as hee could procure at worke to preſerve it that night, promiſing that the King ſhould pay them their wages. Whereupon my Tenant procured neer thirty workmen, & did ſtay with them all night, being very wet and cold, in regard the waters did oftentimes beat over their heads. The man is worth a thouſand pounds at the leaſt, and did proteſt

to me, and will make oath of it, That hee would not have indured ſo much hardſhip for ten pounds, if it had not beene to preſerve his Coleſeed. And if hee had not ſtayed with the workmen, Wisbeach Church, and many houſes in Wisbeach and Elme had beene drowned five or ſix foot deepe: and though the Banks are made thus high, and though they doe pleaſe the eye, nay though they doe performe the ſervice for which they are made the firſt yeare, yet in three or foure yeares they will prove deceitfull, and ſhrinke to halfe the height they had when they were firſt made: and if that which will be then left would have any ſubſtance in it, or that it would continue at that height, there were ſome hope, but that which will bee then left will be light and hollow Still, and will ſettle lower and lower Still. So that to conclude this tedious Objection, I know not how often theſe Bankes muſt bee new made, nor when the worke will be at an end.

Pag 7.lin.24. The laſt Exception that I take againſt large Forelands and Receptacles for the waters to bed on, is that if the Bankes ſhould be placed halfe a mile aſunder, for ſo much the diſtance will bee in ſome places betwixt Guyherne and Witelſey: the Rivers being empty, and the Forelands and Receptacles dry, hollow, and ſpungie, many of the firſt winter floods will be lodged and Pag. 11.lin.24. loſt by the way, ſo that no part of them will be forced into the Sea: Whereas if they were kept together by Banks that might be made of the Manure which would riſe out of Mourton Leam, and two Indikes (the Leam being inlarged to a hundred foot broad, and made as deepe as Wisbeach River is in Wisbeach Town) then the firſt Flood being kept cloſe together, would drive

away

away ſome part of the Sands, and the next Flood more, &c. ſo that the Outfall would be recovered before the Latter Flouds deſcend. For it is very certaine, that the firſt Flouds did never offend any of the Fens neare Peterborough ſince the Sluce below Wisbeach was placed. But the waters being lodged by the way in ſir *Cornelius Virmudens* Beds, will ſtay one for another untill all the Forelands and Receptacles are drowned, the Outfall being ſtill loſt for want of their helpe to waſh the Sands into the Sea from whence they came: But by theſe large Forelands and Receptacles they are kept as it were of purpoſe to make one mighty water, (the Outfall being ſtill loſt) at length comes a great Flood, occaſioned by much Snow and Raine, and finding the Forelands and Receptacles drowned, and the Outfall to the Sea filled or choaked with Sand that cannot preſently bee removed, raiſeth the waters to ſo great a height, that the firſt Stormy Winde will ſhatter and breake the Light Hollow Bankes in a moſt incredible manner. Pag. 27. lin. 11.

There was an intention of making new Bankes on either ſide of Bedford River, at a great diſtance one from the other, but Sir *Cornelius* doth not diſcover how far thoſe Bankes ſhall be placed aſunder: So that although that worke is of a very great conſequence, I muſt leave it as I did leave it when it was firſt made; onely I crave leave to tell you thus much, The making of thoſe two Bankes which are already made, did coſt the late Earle and his friends at the leaſt ſix and twenty thouſand pounds. And I beleeve there need not bee any other Bankes made, If the River it ſelfe were made three foot deeper then now it is. Pag. 29. lin. 14

Pag.29.lin.6. In Sir *Cornelius Virmudens* diſcourſe, the River Owſe ſhould have had a croſſe Bank made in it, ſo that no part of the high Land waters ſhould paſſe by Ely;
Pag.29.lin.26. the waters alſo of Milden Hall, Brandon, and Stoke, ſhould no longer fall into it, as heretofore they did, but be carried in a new River neare the Skirts of the High Lands on the South and Eaſt ſide of Owſe to Stow Bridge, as the workes are deſcribed in a Mappe that is fixed at the end of his Booke. If the waters ſhould be ſo diverted, Owſe would undoubtedly run very low all the Neap Tides. So that Graunt and all the bordering waters from Erith to Salters Load, falling into empty Owſe would not be diſcernable. And by that meanes a great part of the Levell would bee very well drained by empty Owſe, if it could retaine the ſame capacity which it now hath, and continue ſo. But if Owſe ſhould be robbed of all the Land waters, (Graunt onely excepted) it is moſt certaine that the Sea Flouds will fill and choake up Owſe, from Salters Load to Ely, ſo, that in three or foure yeares a two load Boat will not be able to paſſe betwixt Cambridge and Lynne, but at the higheſt of the Tides, and that the Navigation from Lynne to Cambridge would bee alſo loſt at the firſt diverſion of the Rivolets, in regard the waters in Grant would at the firſt diverſion run ſo low upon the Hards or Shoulds, that the Keeles would want water from Little Port to Cambridge.

Neither is it likely that Milden Hall River will bee led in a new Chanell from Milden Hall to Brandon River, in regard the waters of two Brookes betwixt Milden Hall and Brandon finding their beſt Current to be by Milden Hall, deſcend that way into Owſe,

which

which Streame is quite contrary to the Deſigne of Sir *Cornelius*. And if it were poſſible to effect what hee deſireth, beſides the loſſe of the Navigation from Lyn to Cambridge, he muſt of neceſſity deſtroy many hundred Acres of very good Land, (lying next the High Lands) of Northfolk and Southfolk, that would coſt great ſummes of money, which doth not agree with the thrifty promiſes which hee made unto the King in the following page. Pag. 30. lin. 1.

To prevent theſe miſchiefes I have not onely prepared a new Deſigne, but I have expoſed it to the publique view: not that I beleeve it to be armed againſt all Exceptions, (for to expreſſe my impartiall beleefe I have excepted againſt one part of it my ſelfe, leaving the Reſolution thereof to this Honourable Houſe) but to the intent that a right and good Deſigne may by your Wiſedomes be reſolved out of the Deſignes that will bee tendered to your views. To that onely end I made it, and humbly preſent it to this Honourable Houſe; in the meane time though I preferre the commen and invaluable good of this Noble worke to the private intereſt of any, (if they ſtood in reall oppoſition) I cannot but lament my unworthineſſe, and want, in being no wayes able to expreſſe that extreame diſadvantages, nay intollerable loſſe which (Lynne and Cambridge, or leaving that expreſſion) the famous Univerſity of Cambridge muſt ſuſtaine by the loſſe of their Navigation, if Sir *Cornelius Virmudens* unadviſed Deſigne ſhould be ſupported and proſecuted. And which is worth the obſerving, beſides the loſſe of the Navigation, the River Owſe being filled with Silt or Sand from Salters Load to Harryner, would extream-

ly hinder the paſſage of that cleere Streame which glideth through Cambridge Towne, commonly called Grant, ſo that it would not be kept in the ancient Channell, but would over-runne not onely the Meadowes and low Lands on either ſide the River, (already ſubject to Inundation) but would certainly drowne a great part of Cambridge Towne; nay ſome of the Colledges would (in a froward Winter) bee ſubject to old Grants diſpleaſure. But them I leave to bee defended by ſome of the Learned that are beſt at leiſure.

In the laſt page of his Book he complaineth of many Bankes very chargeable to make and maintaine, promiſing the King to performe the workes with a moity of the charge expreſſed in the other Deſignes; when in truth no man propounded ſo many Bankes as himſelfe did, (the onely difference betwixt his deſigne and mine being for the placing of Sluces near the Outfalls of the Rivers, to keepe out the Sea flouds) wherein he did not onely miſ-informe the King, but abuſe his Commiſſioners, which after ſome travell and paines had reſpectively preſented their ſeverall deſignes unto the then Lord Treaſurer. And to my beſt remembrance, there was not one of the five that did expreſſe what the particular workes ſhould bee, nor what the charge of the workes would amount unto, (but onely that which my ſelfe made) and that did not exceed a fixth part of the charge which Sir *Cornelius Vermuden's* deceitfull Bankes would coſt: and yet hee told the King that he would performe the workes for halfe the charge expreſſed in the other Deſignes.

Pag. 33. lin. 2.

And now having faithfully and truly expreſſed my apprehenſion of Sir *Cornelius Vermudens* Deſigne (if it

be

bee ſo received) I am humbly bold to acquaint you, how he did abuſe the Kings Majeſty in procuring to himſelfe a Sallary of a thouſand pounds *per annum*, as it will be juſtified to this Honourable Committee.

To conclude this tedious diſcourſe: when Sir *Cornelius* found that the King was ſufficiently encouraged to undertake the worke, it was ſo plotted, that Secretary *Windebancke* and others did poſſeſſe his Majeſty, that there was not a man in his Dominions that knew how to drain the Fens but Sir *Cornelius* only. In which paſſage the King was extreamly abuſed. For being deſirous to effect the worke, by this plot his Majeſty was inforced to approve of his ſenſleſſe diſcourſe (in ſtead of a Deſigne) and to intreat him to accept of a Sallary exceeding his deſerts: For in the diſpoſing of twenty three thouſand five hundred pounds, he hath miſſpent at the leaſt ſixteene thouſand pounds of the money, and wilfully waſted many hundred Acres of Land, skimming the top thereof to make counterfeit Bankes, without giving the owners thereof any ſatisfaction for them.

The reſt of his Booke is too myſticall for my apprehenſion. I therefore leave it, and finiſh my diſcourſe with

God be thanked for this Honourable Parliament.

FINIS.

FINIS.

God be thanked for this Honourable Parliament.

A 23

Remonstrance

OR THE

DECLARATION

Of the LORDS and *Commons*, now Assembled in *PARLIAMENT*,

26. of *May*. 1642.

In answer to a DECLARATION under His Majesties Name concerning the businesse of *Hull*, sent in a MESSAGE to both Houses the 21. of MAY, 1642.

According to an Order made in the House of *Commons*, on *Saturday* last, I have examined this Copie with the Originall, and have mended it. *H. Elsi. Cler. Parl. D. Com.*

LONDON,
London printed for *Iohn Franke*. 1642.

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The third Remonstrance.

ALthough the great affaires of this Kingdome and the miserable and bleeding condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, affords us little leasure to spend our time in Declarations, and in Answers and Replies, yet the Malignant partie about His Majestie, taking all occasions to multiply Calumnies upon the Houses of Parliament, and to publish sharp Invectives under His Majesties Name against them and their proceedings, a new Engine which they have invented to heighten the destructions of this Kingdome and to beget and increase distrust and disaffection betweene the King and His Parliament and the People, We cannot be so much wanting to our owne Innocencie, or to the dutie of our Trust, as not to cleere our selves from those false aspersions and (which is our chiefest care) to dilabuse the Peoples mindes, and open their eyes, that under the false shewes and pretexts of the Law of the Land and of their owne Rights and Liberties, they may not bee carried into the Roade way, that leadeth to the utter ruine and subversion thereof. A late occasion that these wicked spirits of division have taken to defame, and indeed to arraigne the proceedings of both Houses of Parliament, hath beene from our Votes of the 28. of *April*, and our Declaration concerning the businesse of *Hull*, which because we put forth, before wee could send our An-

swer concerning that matter unto His Majestie, those mischievous Instrumen's of dissention, betweene the King, the Parliament and the People, whose chiefe labour and study is to misrepresent our Actions to his Majestie and to the Kingdome, would needs interpret this, as an appeale to the people, and a declining of all Intercourse betweene his Majestie and us, as if we thought it to no purpose to endevour anymore to give him satisfaction, and without expecting any longer our answer, under the name of a Message from His Majestie to both Houses, they themselves have indeed made an Appeale to the people as the message it selfe doth in a manner grant it to be, offering to joyne issue with us in that way, and in the nature thereof, doth cleerely shew it selfe to be no other, Therefore we shall likewise addresse our Answer to the Kingdom, not by way of Appeale as wee are charged) but to prevent them from being their own executioners, and from being perswaded under false colours of defending the Law, and their own Liberties to destroy both with their own hands, by taking their lives Liberties and Estates out of their hands whom they have chosen and entrusted therewith, and resigning them up unto some evill councellors about His Majestie, who can lay no other foundation of their owne greatnesse, but upon the Ruine of this, and in it of all Parliaments, and in them of the true Religion, and the freedome of this Nation. And these are the men that would perswade the people, that both Houses of Parliament containing all the Peeres, and representing all the Commons of England would destroy the Lawes of the Land and liberty of the People, wherein besides the trust of the whole, they themselves in their owne particulars, have so great an interest of honour and estate, That we hope it will gaine little credit, with any that have the least use of reason, that such as must have so great a share in the misery, should take so much paines in the procuring thereof and spend so much time, and runne so many hazards to make themselves slaves, and to destroy the propriety of their estates, But that we may give particular satisfaction to the severall imputations cast upon us, We shall take them in Order as they are laid upon us in that message. First, we are charged for the avowing of that Act of Sir *John Hotham*, which is termed unparalelled, and an high and unheard of Affront: unto his Majesty, and as if we needed not to have done it, he being able, as is alleadged, to produce no such command of the Houses of Parliament. Although Sir *John Hotham* had

had not an Order that did expresse every circumstance of that case, yet hee might have produced an Order of both Houses which did comprehend this Case, not only in the cleere intention, but in the very words thereof, which in our Consciences to bee true, and to be most necessary for the safety of the Kingdome, we could not but in Honour and Justice avow that Act of his, which we are confident will appeare to all the world to be so farre from being an Affront to the King, that it will bee found to have beene an Act of great Loyalty to His Majestie, and to his Kingdome.

The next charge upon us is, that instead of giving His Majestie satisfaction, we published a Declaration concerning that businesse, as an appeale to the people, and as if our intercourse with his Majestie, and for his satisfaction, were now to no more purpose, which course is alledged to be very unagreeable to the modestie and duty of former times, and not warrantable by any Presidents, but what our selves have made. If the Penner of this Message had expected a while, or had not expected, that two Houses of Parliament, (especially but then met as they are at this time with so many pressing and urgent Affaires) should have moved as fast as himselfe, hee would not have said that Declaration was instead of an Answer to His Majestie, which wee did dispatch with all the speed and diligence we could, and have sent it to His Majestie by a Committee of both Houses, whereby it appeares that wee did it not upon that ground, that we thought it was no more, to any purpose to indeavour to give His Majestie satisfaction. And as for the duty and modesty of former times from which we are said to have varied, and to want the warrant of any Presidents therein, but what our selves have made; but if wee have made any Presidents this Parliament, we have made them for posterity, upon the same or better grounds of reason and Law then those were upon which our Predecessors first made any for us, and as some presidents ought not to be rules for us to follow; so none can be limits to bound our proceedings, which may and must vary according to the different conditions of times, and for this particular of setting forth Declarations for the satisfaction of the people, who have chosen and intrusted us with all that is dearest to them, if there be no example for it, it is because there were never any such Monsters before that, ever attempted to disaffect the people from a Parliament, or could ever turbou a thought that it might be effected; were there ever such practices to poyson

the people with an all apprehension of the Parliament, were there ever such imputations and scandals laid upon the proceedings of both Houses; were there ever so many, and so great breaches of priviledge of Parliament, were there ever so many, and so desperate designes of force and violence against the Parliament, and the Members thereof. If we have done more than ever our Ancestors have done, we have suffered more than ever they have suffered, and yet in point of modesty and duty we shall not yeeld to the best of former times, and wee shall put this in issue, whether the highest and most unwarrantable presidents of any of His Majesties Predecessors, doe not fall short and much below what hath beene done unto us this Parliament; And on the other side, whether if we should make the highest Presidents of other Parliaments our patternes, there would bee cause to complaine of want of modestie and duty in us, when we have not so much as suffered such things to enter into our thoughts, which all the world knowes they have put in Act.

Another Charge which is laid very high upon us (and which were indeed a very great Crime if we were found guilty thereof) is that by avowing this Act of Sir. *John Hotham*, we doe in Consequence confound and destroy the title and Interest of all his Majesties good subjects to their Lands and goods, and that upon this ground, That his Majestie hath the same title to his towne of *Hull* which any of his subjects have to their houses or lands, and the same to his Magazin and Munition there, that any man hath to his money, plate, or Iewells, and therefore that they ought not to have beene disposed of without or against his consent, no more then the House, land, mony, plate, or Iewels, of any subject ought to be without or against his will.

Here that is laid downe for a Principle which would indeed pull up the very foundation of the Liberty, property and interest of every subject in particular, and of all the subjects in generall, if we should admit it for a truth that his Majestie hath the same right & Title to his Towns & to his Magazin (bought with the publike monies as we conceive that at Hull to have beene) that every particular man hath to his house, lands, and goods, for his Majesties townes are no more his owne then his Kingdome is his owne, and his Kingdome is no more his own, then his people are his own, and if the King had a propriety in all his Townes what would become of the subjects propriety in their houses therein &

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if he had a propriety in his Kingdome, what would become of the subjects propriety in their lands thoughout the Kingdome, or of their liberties if his majestie had the same right in their persons that every subject hath in their lands or goods, & what should become of the subjects interest in the Townes & Forts of the Kingdom and in the kingdom it selfe, if his majestie might sell or give them away, or dispose of the at his pleasure as a particular man may do with his Lands and with his Goods. This erronious maxime, being infused into Princes that their Kingdoms are their own, and that they may do with them what they will (as if their Kingdoms were for them, and not they for their Kingdomes) is the Root of all the subjects misery, and of the Invading of their just Rights & Liberties, whereas indeed they are only intrusted with their Kingdomes, and with their Townes, and with their people, and with the publique Treasure of the Common-Wealth, and whatsoever is bought therewith and by the knowne law of this Kingdome the very Iewels of the Crown are not the Kings proper goods but are only intrusted to him for the use and ornament thereof. As the Townes, Forts, Treasure, Magazin, Offices and people of the kingdome, and the whole kingdom it selfe is intrusted unto him for the good and safety and best advantage thereof, and as this trust is for the use of the kingdome, so ought it to be managed by the advice of the Houses of Parliament, whom the kingdome hath trusted for that purpose, it being their duty to see it be discharged according to the condition and true intent thereof, and as much as in them lyes by all possible meanes to prevent the contrary which if it hath bin their chiefe care and only Ayme in the disposing of the Towne and Magazin of Hull in such manner as they have done, they hope it will appeare clearely to all the world, that they have discharged their owne trust, and not invaded that of his Majesties, much lesse his property which in this case they could not doe.

But admitting His Majestie had indeed had a propertie in the Towne and Magazine of *Hull*, who doubts but that a Parliament may dispose of any thing wherein His Majestie or any Subjects hath a right, in such a way, as that the Kingdome may not be exposed to hazard or danger thereby, which is our case in the disposing of the Town and Magazine of *Hull*, And whereas His Majestie doth allow

law this and a greater power to a parliament, but in that sence only as he himselfe is a part thereof, wee appeale to every mans Conscience that hath observed our proceedings whether we disjoyned his Majestie from His Parliament, who have in all humble wayes sought his Concurrence with us, as in this particular about *Hull* and for the remove all of the Magazine there, so also in all other things, or whether these evill Counsels about him have not separated him from his Parliament, not onely in distance of place, but also in the discharge of this joynt trust with them for the peace and safety of the Kingdome in this and some other particulars.

We have given no occasion to His Majestie to declare his resolution with so much earnestnes, that he will not suffer either or both Houses by their Votes without or against his consent to inioyn any thing that is forbidden by the Law, or to forbid any thing that is injoyned by the Law. For our Votes have done no such thing, and as we shall be very tender of the Law (which we acknowledge to be the safegard and custody of all publike and private Interesses) so we shall never allow a few private Persons about his Majestie, nor his Majestie Himselfe in his own Person and out of his Courts to be Judge of the Law, and that contrary to the judgement of the highest Court of Iudicature: In like manner that His Majesty hath not refused to consent to any thing that might be for the peace & happines of the kingdom, we cannot admit it in any other sence but as His Majestie taketh the measure of what will bee for the peace and happinesse of the kingdom from some few ill affected persons about him contrary to the advice and Iudgement of His great Councell of Parliament. And because the Advice of both Houses of PARLIAMENT hath through the suggestions of evill Councellors bin so much undervalued of late, and so absolutely rejected and refused, wee hold it fit to declare unto the Kingdome (whose honour and interest is so much concerned in it) what is the priviledge of the great Councell of Parliament herein, and what is the Obligation that lyeth upon the Kings of this Realme to passe such Bills as are offered unto them by both Houses of Parliament, in the name, and for the good of the whole kingdome whereunto they stand ingaged both in conscience and in justice to give their royall assent; In conscience, in respect of the Oath that is or ought to bee taken by the KINGS of this Realme at the CORONATION as well to confirm by their Royall assent such good Lawes as their people shall choose,

and

and to remedy by Law ſuch inconveniences as the Kingdome may ſuffer, as to keepe and protect the Lawes already in being, as may appeare both by the forme of the Oath upon Record, and in bookes of good Authority, and by the Statute of the 25. *Edw.* 3. entituled the Statute of Proviſors of Benefices, the forme of which Oath & the cauſe of that Statute concerning are as followeth.

Formâ juramenti ſoliti et conſueti præſtari, per Reges Angliæ in eorum Coronatione. Rot. Parl. H. 4. N. 17 2.

Servabis Eccleſia Dei, Clero, & populo pacem ex integro et concordiam in Deo ſecundum vires tuas?

Reſpondebit, Servabo.

Facies fieri in omnibus judiciis tuis equam & rectam juſtitiam & diſcretionem in miſericordia & lenitate ſecundùm vires tuas?

Reſpondebit, Faciam.

Concedis juſtas leges & conſuetudines eſſe tenendas & permittis per te eas eſſe protegendas & ad honorem Dei corroborandas quas vulgus elegerit ſecundùm vires tuas?

Reſpondebit, Concedo et permitto.

Adjicianturq; præditis interrogationibus quæ juſta fuerint, pernunciat iſq; omnibus confirmet Rex ſe omnia ſervaturum ſacramento ſuper altare præſtito coram cunctis.

A Clauſe in the Preamble of a Statute made 25. *Edw.* 3. Entituled the ſtatute of Proviſors of Benefices.

Whereupon the ſaid Commons have prayed our ſaid Lord the King, that ſith the right of the Crown of *England*, & the Law of the ſaid Realm is ſuch, that upon the miſchiefs and damages which happen to his Realm, he ought, and is bound by his Oath, with the accord of his people in his Parliament, thereof to make remedy and Law, and in removing the miſchiefes and damages which thereof enſue, that it may pleaſe him thereupon to ordaine remedy.

Our Lord the King, ſeeing the miſchiefes and damages before mentioned, and having regard to the ſaid Statute, made in the time of his ſaid Grandfather, and to the cauſes contained in the ſame, which Statute holdeth alwaies his force, and was never defeated, repealed, nor annulled in any point, and by ſo much he is bounden by his Oath to cauſe the ſame to be kept as the Law of his Realme, though that by ſufferance and negli-

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gence it hath bin ſithence attempted to the contrary, alſo having regard to the grievous complaints made to him by his people in divers his Parliaments holden heretofore, willing to ordaine remedy for the great damage and miſchiefes which have hapned, and daily doe happen to the Church of *England* by the ſaid cauſe.

Here the Lords and Commons claime it directly as the right of the Crowne of *England*, and of the Law of the Land, and that the King is bound by his Oath, with the accord of his people in Parliament to make remedy and Law upon the miſchiefes and damages which happen to this Realme, and the King doth not deny it, although he take occaſion from a Statute formerly made by his Grandfather, which was layed as part of the grounds of this Petition, to fixe his Anſwer upon another branch of his Oath, and preteremits that which is claimed by the Lords and Commons, which he would not have done if it might have beene excepted againſt.

In Juſtice they are obliged thereunto in reſpect of the truſt repoſed in them, which is aſwell to preſerve the Kingdome by the making of new Lawes where there ſhall be need, as by the obſerving of Lawes already made. A Kingdome being many times aſmuch expoſed to ruine for the want of a new Law, as by the violation of thoſe that are in being, and this is ſo cleare a right, that no doubt his Majeſty will acknowledge it to be as due unto his people as his protection; but how farre forth he is obliged to follow the judgement of his Parliament therein, that is the queſtion. And certainely beſides the words in the Kings Oath, referring unto ſuch Lawes as the people ſhall chuſe, as in ſuch things which concerne the Publique Weale and good of the Kingdome, they are the moſt proper Judges who are ſent from the whole Kingdome for that very purpoſe, ſo we doe not finde that ſince Lawes have paſſed by way of Bills (which are read thrice in both Houſes, and committed, and every part and circumſtance of them fully weighed and debated upon the commitment, and afterwards paſſed in both Houſes) that ever the Kings of this Realme did deny them otherwiſe then is expreſſed in that uſuall Anſwer, *Le Roy ſaviſera*, which ſignifies rather a ſuſpenſion then a refuſall of the Royall Aſſent, and in thoſe other Lawes which are framed by way of Petitions of Right, the Houſes of Parliament have taken themſelves to bee ſo farre Judges of the Rights claimed by them, that when the Kings Anſwer hath not in every point bin fully according to their deſire, they have ſtill inſiſted upon their claime, and never reſted ſatisfied till ſuch time as they had

had an answer according to their owne demand; as was done in the late Petition of Right, and in former times upon the like occasion, and if the Parliament be Judge betweene the King and his people in the Question of Right (as by the manner of the claime in Petitions of right, and by Judgements in Parliament, in Cases of illegall Impositions and Taxes, and the like it appeareth to bee) why should they not be so also in the question of the common good, and necessity of the Kingdome, wherein the Kingdome hath as cleer a right also to have the benefit and remedy of Law, as in any thing whatsoever, and yet we doe not deny but in private Bills, and also in publick Acts of Grace, as Pardons and the like grants of favour, his Majesty may have a greater latitude of granting or denying as he shall thinke fit.

All this considered, we cannot but wonder that the Contriver of this Message, should conceive the people of this land to bee so voyd of common sence, as to enter into so deep a mistrust of those that they have, and his Majesty ought to repose so great a trust in, as to despaire of any security in their private Estates, by discents, purchases, Assurances, or Conveyances, unlesse his Majesty should by his Vote prevent the prejudice they might receive therein, by the Votes of both Houses of Parliament; As if they who are especially chosen and intrusted for that purpose, and who themselves must needs have so great a share in all grievances of the Subject, had wholly cast off all care of the Subjects good, and his Majesty had solely taken it up; And as if it could be imagined that they should by their Votes overthrow the rights of Discents, Purchases, or of any Conveyance or Assurance, in whose judgment the whole Kingdome hath placed all their particular Interesses, if any of them should be called in question in any of those Cases, and that (as knowing not where to place them with greater security) without any Appeale from them to any other person or Court whatsoever.

But indeed we are very much to seeke how the case of Hull should concerne Discents, and Purchases, or Conveyances, and Assurances, unlesse it bee in procuring more securitie to men in their private Interesses by the preservation of the whole from confusion and destruction, and much lesse doe we understand how the Soveraigne Power was resisted and despised therein; Certainly no command from his Majesty, and his high Court of Parliament (where the soveraigne power resides) was disobeyed by Sir *John Hotham*, nor yet was his Majesties Authority derived out of any other Court, nor by any legall Commission, or by any other way, wherein the Law hath appoynted his

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Majesties commands to bee derived to his Subjects, and of what validity his verball Commands are, without any such stampe of his Authority upon them, and against the order of both Houses of Parliament, and whether the not submitting thereunto be a resisting and dispising of the Soveraigne Authority, we leave it to all men to judge, that doe at all understand the government of this Kingdome.

We acknowledge that his Majesty hath made many expressions of his zeale and intentions against the desperate designes of Papists, but yet it is also as true, that the Counsells which have prevailed of late with him, have beene little suitable to those expressions and intentions: For what doth more advance the open and bloudy designe of the Papists in Ireland, (whereon the secret plots of the Papists here, doe in likely-hood depend) than his Majesties absenting himselfe, in that manner that hee doth from his Parliament and setting forth such sharp Invectives against them, notwithstanding all the humble Petitions, and other meanes which his Parliament hath addressed unto him for his returne and for his satisfaction concerning their proceedings. And what was more likely to give a rise to the designes of Papists (whereof there are so many in the North neare to the Towne of *Hull*) and of other malignant and ill-affected persons, which are ready to joyne with them, or to the attempts of forrainers from abroad, than the continuing of that great Magazin at *Hull* at this time, and contrary to the desire and advice of both Houses of Parliament; so that we have too much cause to believe that the Papists have still some way and meanes, whereby they have influence upon his Majesties Councells for their owne advantage.

For the Malignant party his Majesty needeth not a definition of the Law, nor yet a more full Character of them from both Houses of Parliament for to finde the n out; if he will please onely to apply the Character that himselfe hath made of them to those unto whom it doth properly and truely belong, who are so much dis-affected to the peace of the Kingdome, as they that endevour to dis-affect his Majesty from the Houses of Parliament, and perswade him to be at such a distance from them both in place and affection: Who are more disaffected to the government of the Kingdome, than such as lead his Majesty away from hearkning to his Parliament, which by the constitution of this Kingdome is his greatest and best Councell and perswade him to follow the malitious Councells of some private men, in opposing and contradicting the wholsome advices, and just proceedings of that his most faithfull Coun-

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cell and higheſt Court? Who are they that not onely neglect and deſpiſe, but labour to undermine the Law, under colour of maintaining of it? Are they that indevour to deſtroy the fountaine and Conſervatory of the law, which is the Parliament? and who are they that ſet up other Rules for themſelves to walke by then ſuch as are according to Lawe, but they, that will make other Iudges of the Law than the Law hath appoynted: and ſo diſpence with their obedience to that which the Law calleth Authority, and to their determinations and reſolutions to whom the Iudgement doth appertaine by Law: For when private perſons ſhall make the Law to be their Rule, according to their owne underſtandings, contrary to the judgement of thoſe that are the competent Iudges thereof, they ſet up unto themſelves other Rules than the Law doth acknowledge: who theſe perſons are, none knoweth better than his Majeſty himſelfe: And if he will pleaſe to take all poſſible caution of them, as deſtructive to the Common wealth, and himſelfe, and would remove them from about him, it would be the moſt effectuall meanes to compoſe all the diſtractions, and to cure the diſtempers of this Kingdome.

For the Lord *Digby* his Letter, we did not make mention of it as a ground to hinder his Majeſtie from viſiting his owne fort, but we appeale to the judgement of any indifferent man that ſhall read that Letter, and compare it with the poſture that his Majeſtie then did, and ſtill doth ſtand in, towards the Parliament, and with the circumſtances of that late action of his Majeſty, in going to *Hull*, whether the Adviſors of that Iourney, intended onely a viſit of that fort and Magazin? as to the wayes and overtures of accommodation, and the meſſage of the 20 of Ianuary laſt, ſo often preſſed, but ſtill in vaine as is alledged: Our Anſwer is, that although ſo often as the meſſage of the 20. of Ianuary is hath beene preſſed, ſo often have our priviledges beene clearely infringed, that a way and method of proceeding ſhould be preſcribed unto us, as well for the ſetling of his Majeſties Revenue, as for the preſenting of our owne deſires (a thing which in former Parliaments hath alwayes beene excepted againſt as a breach of priviledge) yet in reſpect to the matter contained in that meſſage, and out of our earneſt deſire to beget a good underſtanding between his Majeſty, and us, wee ſwallowed downe all matters of Circumſtance, and had ere this time preſented the chiefe of our deſires to his Majeſty, had we not beene interrupted with continuall Denyalls even of thoſe things that were neceſſary for our preſent ſecurity and ſubſiſtance, and had not thoſe denyalls beene followed with perpetu-

all Invectives against us and our proceedings, and had not those invectives beene heaped upon us so thicke one after another, (who were already in a manner wholly taken up with the pressing affaires of this Kingdome, and of the Kingdome of Ireland) that as wee had little encouragement from thence to hope for any good Answers to our desires, so we had not so much time left us to perfect them in such a manner as to offer them unto his Majesty.

Wee confesse it is a Resolution most worthy of a Prince, and of his Majesty, to shut his eares against any that would incline him to a civill Warre, and to abhor the very apprehension of it, but we cannot beleeve that mind to have bin in them that came with his Majesty to the House of Commons, or in them that accompanied his Majesty to *Hampton* Court, and appeared in a warlike manner at *Kingston* upon Thames, or in divers of them that followed his Majesty now lately to *Hull*, or in them that after drew their Swords at *Yorke*, demanding who would bee for the King, nor in them that advised his Majesty to declare Sir *John Hotham* a Traytor before the Message was sent concerning that businesse to the Parliament, or to make propositions to the Gentlemen of the County of *Yorke*, to assist his Majesty to proceede against him in a way of force before he had, or possible could receive an Answer from the Parliament, to whom he had sent to demand Justice of them against Sir *John Hotham* for that Fact, and if those malignant spirits shall ever force us to defend our Religion, the Kingdome, the Priviledges of Parliament, and the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, with our swords, the bloud and destruction that shall ensue thereupon must bee wholly cast upon their Accompt, God and our owne Consciences tell us that wee are cleare, and we doubt not but God and the whole world will cleare us therein.

For Captaine *Legg* we did not say that he was accused, or that there was any charge against him for the bringing up of the Army, but that he was imployed in that businesse. And for that question concerning the Earle of *New Castle* mentioned by his Majesty, which is said to have bin asked long since, and that it is not easie to bee answered; Wee conceive that it is a question of more difficulty and harder to bee answered: Why, when his Majesty held it necessary, upon the same grounds that first moved from the Houses of Parliament; That a Governour should be placed in that Towne, Sir *John Hotham* a Gentleman of knowne Fortune and Integrity, and a person of whom both Houses of Parliament had expressed their confidence, should be refused by his Majesty, and the Earle of

New-

New-Caſtle (who by the way was ſo farr named in the buſineſſe of the bringing up of the Army, that although there was not ground enough for a judiciall proceeding, yet there was ground of ſuſpition, at leaſt his reputation was not left ſo unblemiſhed thereby, as that hee ſhould bee thought the fitteſt man in *England* for that imployment of *Hull*) ſhould be ſent downe in a private way from his Majeſtie to take upon him that government, and why he ſhould diſguiſe himſelfe under another name, when he came thither, as hee did. But whoſoever ſhall conſider, together with theſe circumſtances, that of the time when Sir *John Hotham* was firſt appointed by both Houſes of Parliament to take upon him that employment, which was preſently after his Majeſties comming to the Houſe of Commons, and upon the retiring of himſelfe to *Hampton Court*, and the L. *Digbies* aſſembling of Cavaliers at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*, will find reaſon enough why that Towne of *Hull* ſhould bee committed rather to Sir *John Hotham*, by the authoritie of both Houſes of Parliament, than to the Earle of *New-Caſtle*, ſent from his Majeſtie in that manner that he was; And for the power that Sir *John Hotham* hath from the Houſes of Parliament, the better it is known and underſtood, we are confident the more it will be approved of and juſtified: And as we do not conceive that his Majeſties refuſall to have that Magazin removed could give any advantage againſt him to have it taken from him, and as no ſuch thing is done, ſo wee cannot conceive for what other reaſon any ſhould councell his Majeſtie not to ſuffer it to bee removed, upon the deſire of both Houſes of Parliament, except it be that they had an intention to make uſe of it againſt them.

We did not except againſt thoſe that preſented a petition to his Majeſtie at *York* for the continuance of the Magazine at *Hull*, in reſpect of their condition, or in reſpect of their number, becauſe they were meane perſons, or becauſe they were few; but becauſe they being but a few, and there being ſo many more in the Countie of as good qualitie as themſelves (who have by their petition to his Majeſtie diſavowed that act of theirs) that they ſhould take upon them the ſtile of all the Gentrie and Inhabitants of that Countie, and under that title ſhould preſume to interpoſe their advice contrary to the Votes of both Houſes of Parliament, and if it can be made to appeare, that any of theſe Petitions that are ſaid to have been preſented to the Houſes of Parliament, and to have been of a

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ſtrange nature, were of ſuch a nature as that, we are confident that they were never received with our conſent and approbation.

Whether there was an intention to deprive Sir *John Hotham* of his life, if his Majeſtie had beene admitted into *Hull*, and whether the information were ſuch, as that he had ground to believe it, wee will not bring it into queſtion; for that was not, nor ought to have beene the ground for doing what hee did, neither was the number of his Majeſties Attendants, for being more or fewer, much conſiderable in this caſe: For although it be true, that if his Majeſtie had entred with twenty horſe onely, hee might haply have found meanes for to have forced the entrance of the reſt of his Traine, who being once in the Towne would not have beene long without Armes, yet that was not the ground that Sir *John Hotham* was to proceed upon, but upon the admittance of the King into the Towne at all, ſo as to deliver up the Towne and Magazin unto him, and to whomſoever hee ſhould give the command thereof, without the knowledge and conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, by whom he was entruſted to the contrary; and his Majeſtie having declared that to be his intention concerning the Towne in a meſſage that hee ſent to the Parliament not long before hee went to *Hull*, ſaying, That he did not doubt but that Town ſhould be delivered up to him, whenſoever hee pleaſed, as ſuppoſing it to bee kept againſt him, and in the like manner concerning his Magazin, in his Meſſage of the foure and twentieth of April, wherein it is expreſſed, that his Majeſtie went thither with a purpoſe to take into his hands the Magazin, and to diſpoſe of it in ſuch manner as he ſhould think fit, upon theſe termes Sir *John Hotham* could not have admitted his Majeſtie, and have made good his truſt to the Parliament, though his Majeſtie would have entred alone, without any Attendance at all of his owne, or of the Prince, or Duke, his ſons, which wee do not wiſh to be leſſe than they are in their number, but could heartily wiſh that they were generally better in their conditions.

In the cloſe of this Meſſage, his Majeſtie ſtates the caſe of *Hull*, and thereupon inferreth, that the Act of Sir *John Hotham* was levying of war againſt the King, and conſequently that it was no leſſe than high treaſon, by the Letter of the Statutes of 25. *Edw.* 3. *Cap.* 2. unleſſe the ſenſe of that Statute be very far differing from the Letter thereof.

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In the ſtating of this Caſe divers particulars may be obſerved, wherein it is not rightly ſtated: As firſt, That his Majeſties going to Hull was onely an endevour to viſit a Town and Fort of his; whereas it was indeed to poſſeſſe himſelfe of the Towne and Magazine there, and to diſpoſe of them as he himſelfe ſhould think good, without and contrary to the Advices and Orders of both Houſes of Parliament, as doth clearly appeare by his Majeſties owne Declaration of his intentions therein, by his Meſſages to both Houſes immediately before and after that journey. Nor can we beleeve that any man that ſhall conſider the circumſtances of that journey to Hull, can think that his Majeſty would have gone thither at that time, and in that poſture, that he was pleaſed to put himſelf in towards the Parliament, if he had intended only a viſit of the Towne and Magazine. Secondly, it is ſaid to be his Majeſties owne Towne, and his owne Magazine: which being underſtood in that ſenſe as was before expreſſed, as if his Majeſty had a private intereſt of propriety therein, we cannot admit it to be ſo. Thirdly, (which is the main point of all) Sir *John Hotham* is ſaid to have ſhut the gates againſt his Majeſty, and to have made reſiſtance with armed men in defiance of his Majeſty; whereas it was indeed in obedience to his Majeſty and his authority, and for his ſervice and the ſervice of the Kingdome, for which uſe onely all that intereſt is that the King hath in the Towne; and it is no further his to diſpoſe of, than he uſeth it for that end: And Sir *John Hotham* being commanded to keep the Towne and Magazine for his Majeſty and the Kingdome, and not to deliver them up, but by his Majeſties authority ſignified by both Houſes of Parliament, all that is to be underſtood by thoſe expreſſions of his denying and oppoſing his Majeſties entrance, and telling him in plaine termes he ſhould not come in, was onely this, That he humbly deſired his Majeſty to forbear his entrance, till he might acquaint the Parliament, and that his authority might come ſignified to him by both houſes of Parliament, according to the truſt repoſed in him. And certainly if the letter of the ſtatute of 25. *Ed.* 3. *cap.* 2. be thought to import this, that no warre can be levied againſt the King, but what is directed and intended againſt his perſon; or that every levying of Forces for the defence of the Kings authority, and of his Kingdome, againſt the perſonall commands of the King oppoſed thereunto, though accompanied with his preſence, is levying warre againſt the King, it is very farre from the ſenſe of that ſtatute; and ſo much the ſtatute it ſelfe ſpeakes (beſides the

 authority

authority of Book-cases, Presidents of divers Traitours condemned upon that interpretation thereof:) For if the Clause of levying of warre had been meant onely against the Kings person, what need had there been thereof, after the other branch of Treason in the same statute of compassing the Kings death, which would necessarily have implyed this, and because the former clause doth imply this, it seemes not at all to be intended in this latter branch, but onely the levying of warre against the King, that is against his lawes and authority; and the levying of war against his lawes and authority, though not against his person, is levying warre against the King; but the levying of force against his personall commands, though accompanied with his presence, and not against his lawes and authority, but in the maintenance thereof, is no levying of warre against the King, but for him. Here is then our case: In a time of so many successive plots and designes of force against the Parliament and Kingdome; in a time of probable invasion from abroad, and that to begin at Hull, and to take the opportunity of seizing upon so great a Magazine there; In a time of so great distance and alienation of his Majesties affections from his Parliament, and in them from his Kingdome, which they represent, by the wicked suggestions of a few malignant persons, by whose mischievous counsels he is wholly led away from his Parliament, and their faithfull advises and counsels; In such a time the Lords and Commons in Parliament command Sir *Iohn Hotham* to draw in some of the trained Bands of the parts adjacent to the Towne of Hull, for the securing of that Town and Magazine, for the service of his Majesty and of the Kingdome; of the safety whereof there is a higher trust reposed in them than any where else, and they are the proper judges of the danger thereof.

This Town and Magazine being entrusted to Sir *Iohn Hotham*, with expresse order not to deliver them up, but by the Kings authority signified by both Houses of Parliament; his Majesty, contrary to the advice and direction of both Houses of Parliament, without the authority of any Court, or of any legall way wherein the Law appoints the King to speake and command, accompanied with the same evill Councell about him that he had before, by a verball command requires Sir *Iohn Hotham* to admit him into the Towne, that he might dispose of it, and of the Magazine there, according to his owne, or rather according to the pleasure of those evill Counsellours, which are still in so much credit about him: in like manner as the Lord *Digby* hath continuall

nuall recourſe unto, and countenance from the Queens Majeſty in Holland: by which means he hath opportunity ſtill to communicate his trayterous ſuggeſtions and conceptions to both their Majeſties, ſuch as thoſe were concerning his Majeſties retiring to a place of ſtrength, and declaring himſelfe, and his owne advancing of his Majeſties ſervice in ſuch a way beyond the ſeas, and after that reſorting to his Majeſty in ſuch a place of ſtrength; and divers other things of that nature, contained in his letter to the Queens Majeſty, and to Sir *Lewis Dives*, a perſon that had not the leaſt part in this late buſineſſe of Hull; and was preſently diſpatcht away into Holland, ſoone after his Majeſties returne from Hull, for what purpoſe we leave the world to judge.

Upon the refuſall of Sir *John Hotham* to admit his Majeſty into Hull, preſently without any due proceſſe of law, before his Majeſty had ſent up the narration of his fact to the Parliament, he was proclaimed Traitour; and yet it is ſaid, that therein there was no violation of the Subjects right, nor any breach of the law, nor of the priviledge of Parliament; though Sir *John Hotham* be a member of the Houſe of Commons: and that his Majeſty muſt have better reaſon than bare Votes to beleeve the contrary. Although the Votes of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, being the great Councell of the Kingdome, are the reaſon of the King and of the Kingdome, yet theſe Votes doe not want cleere and apparent reaſon for them: For if the ſolemne proclaiming a man a Traitour ſignifie any thing, it puts a man, and all thoſe that any way aide, aſſiſt, or adhere unto him, into the ſame condition of Traitours, and drawes upon him all the conſequences of Treaſon; and if this may be done by law, without due proceſſe of law, the Subject hath a very poore defence of the law, and a very ſmall, if any proportion of liberty thereby: and it is as little ſatisfaction to a man that ſhall be expoſed to ſuch penalties, by that declaration of him to be a Traitour, to ſay hee ſhall have a legall tryall afterwards, as it is to condemne a man firſt and try him afterwards: And if there can be a neceſſity for any ſuch proclaiming a man a Traitour without due proceſſe of law, yet there was none in this caſe: For his Majeſty might have as well expected the Juſtice of the Parliament (which was the right way) as he had leiſure to ſend to them to demand Juſtice againſt Sir *John Hotham*. And the breach of priviledge of Parliament is as cleere in this caſe as the ſubverſion of the Subjects common right: For though the priviledges of Parliament do dot extend to thoſe caſes mentioned in the Declaration of

Treaſon, Felony, and breach of the Peace, ſo as to exempt the Members of Parliament from puniſhment, nor from all manner of Proceſſe and triall, as it doth in other caſes, yet it doth priviledge them in the way and method of their tryall and puniſhment, and that the Parliament ſhould have the cauſe firſt brought before them, that they may judge of the fact, and of the grounds of the accuſation, and how farre forth the manner of their triall may concern or not concern the priviledge of Parliament: otherwiſe it would be in the power not onely of his Majeſty, but of every private man, under pretenſions of Treaſons, or thoſe other crimes, to take any man from his ſervice in Parliament, and ſo as many one after another as hee pleaſeth, and conſequently to make a Parliament what he will, when he will, which would bee a breach of ſo eſſentiall a Priviledge of Parliament, as that the very being thereof depends upon it: and therefore wee no wayes doubt, but every one that hath taken the Proteſtation, will according to his ſolemne vow and Oath, defend it with his life and fortunes. Neither doth the ſitting of a Parliament ſuſpend all or any Law, in maintaining that Law which upholds the Priviledge of Parliament, which upholds the Parliament, which upholds the Kingdom: And we are ſo far from believing that his Majeſty is the only Perſon againſt whom treaſon cannot be committed, that in ſome ſenſe we acknowledge he is the only Perſon againſt whom it can be committed; that is, as hee is King, and that treaſon which is againſt the Kingdome is more againſt the King, than that which is againſt his Perſon, becauſe hee is King: For that very Treaſon is not Treaſon as it is againſt him as a man, but as a man that is a King; and as hee hath relation to the Kingdome, and ſtands as a Perſon intruſted with the Kingdome, and diſcharging that truſt. Now the caſe is truly ſtated, & all the world may judge where the fault is, although we muſt avow that there can be no competent Judge of this or any the like caſe but a Parliament, and we are as confident, that his Majeſtie ſhall never have cauſe to reſort to any other Court or Courſe, for the vindication of his juſt Priviledges, and for the recovery and maintenance of his known and undoubted Rights, if there ſhould be any Invaſion or violation thereof, than to his high Court of Parliament. And in caſe thoſe wicked Counſellours about him ſhall drive him into any other Courſe from and againſt his Parliament, what ever are his Majeſties expreſſions and intentions, we ſhall appeale to all mens conſciences, and deſire that they would lay their hands upon their hearts, and thinke with them-

themſelves, whether ſuch perſons as have of late and ſtill do reſort to his Majeſty, and have his eare and favour moſt, either have been or are more zealous Aſſertors of the true Proteſtant Profeſſion (although we believe they are more earneſt in the Proteſtant Profeſſion, than in the Proteſtant Religion) or of the Law of the Land, the Libertie of the Subject, and the Priviledges of the Parliament, then the Members of both Houſes of Parliament, who are inſinuated to be the Deſertors, if not the Deſtroyers of them: And whether if they could maſter this Parliament by force they would not hold up the ſame power to deprive us of all Parliaments, which are the ground and Pillar of the Subjects Liberty, and that which onely maketh *England* a free Monarchie.

For the Order of Aſſiſtance to the Committees of both Houſes; as they have no directions or inſtructions, but what have the Law for their Limits, and the ſafety of the Land for their ends; ſo we doubt not but all perſons mentioned in that Order, and all his Majeſties good Subjects will yeeld obedience to his Majeſties Authority ſignified therein by both Houſes of Parliament: And that all men may the better know their duty in matters of that nature, and upon how ſure a ground they go that follow the judgement of Parliament for their guide, we wiſh them judiciouſly to conſider the true meaning and ground of that Statute made in the eleventh yeare of *Hen.*7.cap.1. which is printed at large in the end of his Majeſties Meſſage of the fourth of *May*. This Statute provides, that none that ſhall attend upon the King, and doe him true ſervice, ſhall be attainted or forfeit any thing: What was the ſcope of this Statute? To provide that men ſhould not ſuffer as Traytors for ſerving the King in his Warres according to the duty of their Allegeance: If this had been all, it had beene a very needleſſe and ridiculous Statute: Was it then intended (as they ſeeme to take the meaning of it to be, that cauſed it to be printed after his Majeſties Meſſage,) that they ſhould bee free from all crime and penalty that follow the King and ſerve him in Warre in any caſe whatſoever; whether it were for or againſt the Kingdome, and the Lawes thereof? that cannot bee, for that could not ſtand with the duty of their Allegeance; which in the beginning of this Statute is expreſſed to bee, to ſerve the King for the time being in his Warres, for the defence of Him and the Land; and therefore if it be againſt the Land, (as it cannot bee underſtood to be otherwiſe if it be againſt the Parliament, the repreſentative body of the

Kingdome;) It is a declining from the duty of Allegeance, which this Statute ſuppoſeth may be done, though men ſhould follow the Kings Perſon in the Warre: Otherwiſe there had been no need of ſuch a proviſo in the end of this Statute, that none ſhould take benefit thereby that ſhould decline from their Allegeance. That therefore which is the principle Verbe in this Statute, is *the ſerving of the King for the time being*; which cannot be meant of a *Perkin Warbeck*, or any that ſhould call himſelfe King; but ſuch a one as what ever his Title might prove, either in himſelfe or in his Anceſtors, ſhould be received and acknowledged for ſuch by the Kingdome; the conſent whereof cannot be diſcerned but by Parliament; the Act whereof is the Act of the whole Kingdome by the perſonall ſuffrage of the Peeres, and the delegate conſent of all the Commons of *England*: And *Hen.* 7. a wiſe King, conſidering that what was the Caſe of *R.* 3. his Predeceſſor, might by chance of Battell be his owne, and that he might at once by ſuch a Statute as this, ſatisfie ſuch as had ſerved his Predeceſſor in his Warres; and alſo ſecure thoſe that ſhould ſerve him, who might otherwiſe feare to ſerve him in the Warres, leſt by chance of Battell that might happen to him alſo (if a Duke of York had ſet up a Title againſt him) which had happened to his Predeceſſor: he procured this Statute to bee made, that no man ſhould bee accounted a Traytor for ſerving the King in his Warres for the time being; that is, which was for the preſent allowed and received by the Parliament in behalfe of the Kingdome; and as it is truly ſuggeſted in the Preamble of the Statute. It is not agreeable to reaſon or conſcience that it ſhould be otherwiſe, ſeeing men ſhould be put upon an impoſſibility of knowing their duty, if the judgment of the Higheſt Court ſhould not be a Rule and guide to them: and if the judgement thereof ſhould be followed, where the queſtion is who is King? Much more, what is the beſt ſervice of the King and Kingdome, and therefore thoſe that ſhall guide themſelves by the judgment of Parliament, ought what ever happen to be ſecure and free from all account and penalties, upon the grounds and equitie of this very Statute.

We ſhall conclude, that although thoſe wicked Councellors about his Majeſty, have preſumed under his Majeſties name to put that diſhonour and affront upon both Houſes of Parliament, as to make them the countenancers of Treaſon; enough to have diſſolved all the bands, ſinews of confidence betweene his Majeſtie and his Parliament, (of whom

whom the Maxime of the law is, That a diſhonourable thing ought not to be imagined of them) yet we doubt not but it ſhall in the end appeare to all the world, that our endeavours have beene moſt hearty and ſincere, for the maintenance of the true Proteſtant Religion, the Kings juſt Prerogatives, the Lawes and Liberties of the Land, and the Priviledges of Parliament; in which endevours by the grace of God wee will ſtill perſiſt, though we ſhould periſh in the work: which if it ſhould be, it is much to be feared, That Religion, Lawes, Liberties and Parliaments, would not bee long-lived after us.

FINIS.

24

THE STATE OF THE WHOLE KINGDOM:

CONCECNING

His MAJESTIE and the PARLIAMENT,

Betweene,

LONDON, YORKE, and HULL.

In a Compendious Demonſtration of All Interceding Meſſages, Intentions, or Reſolutions, either of the King or Parliament, with the Reſpective Anſwers of either.

Alſo, Certaine Weighty and Remarkeable Admonitions ſent from the Commiſſions in *Scotland*, both to the King and Parliament, to Compoſe the difference between them.

London, Printed for *T. W.* 1642.

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London, Printed for T.W. 1642.

The State of the whole Kingdome, concerning his Majestie, and the Parliament, betweene London, York, *and* Hull.

THe King and the Parliament mutually fomenting fears and jealousies between each other, have caused this Kingdome to be involved in such a stupendious Laborynth of distraction, that the estate of the whole Kingdome is shaken thereby. Messages, and Remonstrances, Declarations and Replies have beene often reflected on each other; and while the Kings indignation is exasperated, the Parliaments suspition is not wanting. London is replenished with griefe for his Majesties absence; and his Majesty is also himselfe perplexed at the exclusion given him at Hull, That a Subject should deny him the injoyment of his owne possessions. In respect therefore that so many troubles and distempers doe infect and contaminate this Realme, with the contagious diffusion of feares, and approaching miseries; and that the State of this Kingdome is at this present reduced to the very brinke of calamity: it will not be impertinent seriously to consider by what meanes it hath been brought into them, and by what meanes probably it may be emergent and brought out of them. Diverse causes have produced these effects; but the principall cause is to be concluded from the variance and disunion between the King and his Parliament. But it will not be unnecessary to search securably into the first, and prime cause, that begot this variance and disunion, and then nourished and continued the same. It was (as it is by astipulation of all Men generally affirmed) the tumultuous uprores of some factious Spirits, that did not onely scare, but affright His Majesty

from his great Councell: running *Catervatim*, by Troopes down to White-hall, and then disturbing his Majesty with obstreporous clamours. Which caused His Majesty thereupon to constitute, and appoint a dayly Court of Guard; but perceiving, notwithstanding, their it protervity so egregiously obstinate, he left his Parliament. And ever since this disagreement have continued between them to the unexpressible griefe of the Subjects. The Authors then hereof are apparantly demonstrated, not to be any forraigne, but domesticke foe: for our Enemies are only of our House and Family, such as under pretence of Peace, hatch civill Wars, and such as our own discentions, jealousies and distractions have begotten and raised up. And certainely, where such are found (especially between a King and his People) they will prove a sufficient destruction to that Kingdome, and no other cause of the unhappinesse, and misery of a State need to be sought after: for civill discord is a perniciall Source, from whence all miseries and crowding mischiefes flow greedily unto a Kingdome.

The Scripture telleth us, *Of the Great strength of a Little City United, and of the Little stability of a Great Kingdome divided within it selfe.* So that upon a prudent inquiry, we may assigne our own jealousies and discords, for the chiefe cause of our past, this present trouble, and of our future feares.

The King for his part offereth to concurre with the Parliament, in the setling all their liberties and immunities, either for the propriety of their goods, or liberty of their Persons, which they have successively received from their Ancestors, or which himselfe hath granted unto them. And (as appeares by His severall Messages, and Answers to both Houses of Parliament) what shall yet remaine for the good and comfort of His Subjects, He is willing to hearken to all

all their just and reasonable Propositions? And for the ratification and establishment of the Protestant Religion, he woes them to it: The rule of His Government, He professeth, shall be no other, then the Lawes of the Kingdome. What can be more pretended, or expected from a King?

The Parliament on the other side make profession, that they intend to make His Majesty a glorious King, to endeavour to support his Dignity, and to pay unto him, that duty and obedience, which by their Allegiance, severall Oathes, and late Protestation, they owe unto him: and to maintain all His just Regalities, and Prerogatives.

So that this Kingdome (the Parliament and King having thus reciprocally agreed of that, which would in the the generall make at once both the King, and his People happy) will be most unhappy and unfortunate, if they doe not bring both inclinations and endeavours so to propound and settle particulars, as both King and People may know, what will give them mutuall satisfaction, which certainly must be the first step to the setling of a right understanding between them. But when that confidence and beliefe, which should be betwixt a King and his Subject are once lost and dissolved, there can be no greater difficulty, then to conjoyne them. For it is much easier to compose differences arising from reason, yea, from wrongs, then it is to satisfie jealousie, which arising out of the diffidence, and distrust between the King and People, grow, and are varied upon every occasion. The Parliament have ordered the disposall of the *Militia* of the Kingdome without the Kings consent, warranted by the Authority of the fundamentall Lawes of the Land.

The King Answers to the contrary, and desires to know what those fundamentall Lawes of the Land are, and where

where to be found, or by what Ordinance since the first beginning of Parliaments to this present hath it been ever mentioned, that any thing hath been endeavoured to impose any thing on the Subject without the Kings consent?

The Parliament affirme by many Statutes the unlimited power, and Authority of a Parliament.

The King acknowledgeth the same also, but withall he understandeth, that in the Word Parliament, the King as a part thereof is chiefly comprehended.

The King (being denied him to enter into Hull) proclaimed Sir *John Hotham* Traytor, being an unparaleld, high, and unheard of affront offered to his Majesty.

The Parliament maintaine that Act of his to be no Treason, and proclaime him contrarily a faithfull servant of the Parliaments, and that they are confident his Act will appeare to all the World so farre from being an affront to the King, that it will be found rather an Act of great loyalty to His Majesty, and to the generall good of the Kingdome especially. The King affirmeth, that He hath the same Title to His Town of Hull, which any of His Subjects have to their Houses or Lands, and the same to his Magazine and Munition there, that any Man hath to his Mony, Plate or Jewels: and therefore that they ought not to have been disposed of, without, or against His consent, no more then the House, Lands, Mony, Plate or Jewels of any Subject ought to be without, or against his will. The Parliaments Answer, That His Majesties Towns are no more his own, then the Kingdome is his own; and his Kingdome are no more his own, then his People are his owne; and if the King had a propriety in all his Townes, what would become of the Subjects propriety in their Houses therein, and if he had a propriety in his Kingdome, what would become of the Subjects propriety in

their

their Lands throughout the Kingdome, or of their Liberties: if His Majesty had the same right in their persons, that every Subject hath in their Lands, or Goods, and what should become of the Subjects interests in the Townes and Fort of the Kingdome, and in the Kingdome it selfe, if His Majesty might sell, or give them away, or dispose of them at his pleasure, as a particular Man may do with his Goods. Thus in every particular there is a meere Antipathy and Opposition on both sides, severall feares and jealousies being nourished, between both the King and his Parliament; which if there be no endeavours to Allay, mitigate or remove, they will every day increase, grow stronger, and stronger, and gather strength variously. Nay, they are already grown to that height, and the mutuall replies to those direct tearmes of opposition in contrary Answers, that if there be no present stop made, it is to be feared, it will speedily passe farther then verball contestations. Yorkeshire is in preparation of Armes to assist His Majesty, and the Horse-riding of that Country hath been performed, acding to His Majesties command, and if by provocation of Words a Civill War should arise, it would presently bring the whole Kingdome to a destructive and ruinate demolution. So that we are upon the very brinke of our miseries: but it is better keeping out of them, then getting out of them: and in an Estate, the Wise of prevention, is infinitely beyond the Wisedome of Remedies. If for the sins of this Nation these mis-understandings should produce the least Act of Hostility, it is not almost to be believed, how impossible it were to put a stay to our miseries. For if it should so happen (which God of his Goodnesse avert) that mutually

forces

Forces and Armies should bee raised, jealousies and feares would be much increased thereby, and in the very charge of maintaining them, the wealth of the Kingdome would be consumed. Of this we had lately a costly example in the Wars of Scotland, and after pacification was concluded, it cost this Kingdome not much lesse then a Million of pounds. And if two Armies be once on Foot here in England, either a sudden encounter must destroy one of them, or the keeping them both will destroy the Kingdome. I hope the Parliament will endeavour by moderation, and calmenesse, to put a stay to our approaching miseries, and hearken to the wise advice of our Brethren of Scotland, in their Message to the King and Parliament, wherein they earnestly intreat them, That all possible meanes may be forborne which may make the breach wider, and the wound deeper, and that no place be given to the evill spirit of division which at such time work unceasingly, and restlesse. But that the fairest, the most Christian and peaceable way of re-union may be taken by the wise King and Parliament, as may (against malice and opposition) make his Majesty more glorious, and His Kingdome more happy then ever.

Which Pious, Prudent admonitions of Scotland (I hope) will be respectively embraced, to the Reconciliation of the King and Parliament, and consequently the security of the Kingdome.

FINIS.

25.

THE PARLIAMENTS DESIRE and RESOLUTION

Concerning the

PRINCE

PRESENTED TO HIS MAJESTY at *York* by the Lord *Howard* of *Char.*

Wherein is expreſſed their loyall and faithfull intentions towards his Majeſtie and his Highneſſe the Prince, his Sonne.

And their Deſire of his Returne to *Hampton-Court*, according to his *Maieſties* firſt Reſolution and Intention, whereby the feare of Subject may be removed, and their Jealouſie ſecured.

With an Order of the Houſe of Parliament, concerning the Jewels belonging to the Crown.

Henry Elſyng, Cler. Parl.

LONDON,

Jun. 3. Printed for *J. Greenſmith*, and *A. Coe.* 1642.

Die Jovis 2. Junii, 1642.

WHereas it doth appeare to the Lords and Commons in Parliament, That the King, ſeduced by wicked by wicked Counſell, doth intend to levie warre againſt his Parliament: And whereas Information hath been given, That the Iewels of the Crowne (which by the Law of the Land ought not to be alienated) are either pawned or ſold in *Amſterdam*, or ſome other parts beyond the Seas, and thereby great ſums of Money provided to be returned to *York* or to ſome of his Maieſties Servants or Agents for his Maieſties uſe: And whereas 'tis more then probable, That this great Proviſion of Monies in ſuch an extraordinary way, is to maintain this intended warre, and thereby to bring the whole Kingdome into utter ruine and combuſtion. It is therefore declared by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, That whoſoever hath beene, or ſhall be an Actor in the ſelling or pawning of any of the Iewels of the Crowne, or hath, or ſhall pay, lend, ſend: or bring any Money in *Specie* into this Kingdom, for, or upon any of thoſe Iewels; Or whoſoeoever hath, or ſhall accept of any Bill from beyond the Seas, for the payment of any ſum of Money for, or upon any of thoſe Iewels, and ſhall paſſe ane ſum according to ſuch Bill, after notice of this Order, without acquainting this Houſe with the receipt of ſuch Bill, before he accept the ſame; Or if he have already accepted any ſuch Money, Every ſuch perſon ſhall be held and accounted a promoter of this intended Warre, an enemy to the State and ought to give ſatisfaction for this publique dammage out of His own Eſtate.

H: Elſynge Cler: Parl: D, Com.

The Parliaments Desire and Resolution concerning the PRINCE.

WHat have been and still are the distractions of these times, are well knowne to all this Kingdome, the meanest and weakest apprehension needs no other expression then what they can apprehend from the indisposition of these times, arising from the discontents between his Majesty and his now assembled Parliament, which seemes to frustrate the happy and joyfull proceedings of the willing Snbject, whereby he would endeavour to settle the peaceable and flourishing Estate of this Kingdome. His Majesties removall beyond all thought or expectation from his Parliament, he having had no just occasion thereof offered unto him, but was raised by a most unjust suspition and jealousie of their fidelity and loyaltie, did stir

up ſtrange and feareful conceptions in their breaſts, which for a while did daſh and cruſh all their Deſignes and Proceedings for the peace of the Kingdome, which cannot ſmile and looke merry, ſo long as the State and quiet thereof ſtands thus diſtracted, and indeede how can the Bride but mourne, which at the time and expectation of moſt comfort, wants the true and reall conſolation of her Bridegroome; or how can the Body be in health and proſperity, when it is deprived of the benefit and comfort of the Head; aſwell may the Day looke ſmiling and glorious without the luſtre of the Sunne, as the Subject looke cheerefull, being deprived of the happy Society of his Soveraigne, whoſe chiefeſt happineſſe conſiſts in the fruition of a loving Soveraigne, as the happineſſe of a Childe in the enjoying of a loving Father. Often hath the Houſe of Parliament endeavoured by many loyall and ſubmiſſe Sollicitations and Petitions, to returne the Glory and Comfort of his Perſon unto his Subjects, whereby their diverted hearts will be much elevated and raiſed

raiſed from the melancholly feares which they are now involved in; but all in vain, his Majeſty being with-drawne from them by the ſiniſter and malitious counſels of the malignant party. Since this nnhappy loſſe of his Majeſty, which hath produced ſuch diſcontents generally in the Subject, worſe counſell hath poſſeſſed his Majeſties tender and loving breaſt, and ſo far prevailed with him, that againſt his firſt and naturall intention, he hath againſt the deſire and intreaty of the Parliament deprived them of the preſence of his Highneſſe the *Prince*, which hath produced a generall griefe and feare in the Subject, and cauſed him to ſuſpect, that his Majeſties intentions are beyond their former beliefe, croſſe and oppoſite to their loyalty, and intentionall proceeding for the benefit of this Kingdome: For what can their loves and loyalties otherwiſe apprehend. when they are not only denyed his Majeſties preſence and aſſiſtance to countenance and furtheir their Liberties, but alſo are denyed him in whoſe

in whoſe welfare and proſperity conſiſts the future good and continuing happneſſe of this Kingdome.

They firſt humbly deſired his Majeſty that his Highneſſe might not be removed from *Hampton Court*, which did ſeeme to take ſome good effect, and to be with welcome entertained by his Majeſty, but upon the Queenes removall towards *Dover*, the King returning, and reſolving his ſtay at *Greenwich*, the Prince was commanded from *Greenwich* to attend his Majeſty there when they formerly conceived, that his Majeſty had reſolved his ſtay at *Hampton Court*: Whereupon they often did petition his Majeſty, that his Highneſſe might returne to *Hampton-Court*, their deſire being grounded upon the indiſpoſition of the Marqueſſe of *Hartford*, whoſe fidelity & faith was thought worthy of ſo great a truſt, as by the Houſe to be choſen Governour to his Highneſſe, who now being much diſpoſed to ſickneſſ was not able to attend the Prince to a remote place, being unable to travell, reaſon of his continuall caſualty of heal

hee being choſen his Governour, it was not thought convenient he ſhould farre depart: Neither was it to be conſtrued or imagined a needleſſe or unneceſſary feare or jealouſie, conſidering the future eſtate and welfare did wholly depend upon his ſafety and welfare, and in him did lye the joy and comfort of the Loyall Subject; from this one ground alſo the Parliament doth conceive many feares and jealouſies may ariſe, and be promoted in the hearts of his Majeſties moſt loyall Subjects, which will be very neceſſary to remove for the content of the Subject, and the peace of this Land: Neither can his Majeſty in equity deny theſe faithfull deſires of theſe his loyall Subjects, ſince their intentions, care, and vigilancie have been alwayes induſtrious to maintaine his Majeſties Rights and Honours, and to provide for the future welfare as the preſent, both of Majeſties perſon, his Royall Progeny, and the ſecurity and happineſſe of his whole Kingdome. They are confident that none doe miſ-conſtrue their pious intentions, but thoſe onely who in an indiſpoſition

ſition to the publike Good, or a guilt of their owne integrity, have ſtrived to poſſeſſe his Majeſty with theſe ſiniſter and evil counſels againſt his loyally diſpoſed Parliament, and their juſt proceedings.

To avoid theſe and the like occaſion of diſcontents, the Parliament did deſire his Majeſty, that his Highneſſe might continue at *Hampton Court*, by whoſe preſence they hope to ſettle the diſcontents of theſe times and alſo to ſecure themſelves from all future breaches, when they may daily behold the welfare of him in whom they doe place all their future hopes, and in whoſe miſcarrying an univerſall mourning muſt of neceſſity over-ſpread the face of the whole Kingdome.

FINIS.

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26.

Horrible News from

YORKE:

Hull, and *Newcaſtle*.

Concerning the Kings Majeſties intent to take up Arms againſt the PARLIAMENT.

Together with three votes of both Houſes concerning the Kings Standard betwixt York and Hull. May 20.

Hen. Elſing Cler. Parl. D. Com.

With His Majeſties threarnings to impriſon the Lord Fairfax, Sir Philip Stapleton, and the reſt of the Committee appointed by the Parliament to ſit at YORK.

And the Joint votes of both Houſes concerning the ſame.

Alſo the Lordes *Stamfords* Report to the Parliament concerning the danger of *Hull*, and His Majeſties Reſolution to take up Armes.

Together with the Parliaments ſpeciall Command throughout all England and wales.

John Brown Cler. Parl.

May 24 Printed for Ioh Greenſmeth. *An. Coe*, 1642.

A Letter ſent from the Inhabitants of Yorkſhire to Hull.

GENTLEMEN,

WE receiued your Letter in which you ſeemd to encourage us on to bee firm and reſolute, which counſell of yours we receiued with thankfulneſſe, and will make it apparent before God and the world, that we can as boldly lay down our lives, for defence of the truth; as we dare pray to God for the peaceable enjoyment of the ſame, nor will we in expreſſing our loyaltie to the King, prove diſloyall to the Kingdom: ſhall we make wounds on our own boſomes? ſhall we ſtrive to make an union with our hearts, and make a ſepara-

tion with our hands, (God forbid;) why ſhould you thinke us ſo worthleſſe, ſo degenerate, as to advance our ſelves by your ruine, ſince the very Act uſhers in ruine, and the end aſſured deſolation and deſtruction: Is not his Majeſties honour, the Parliaments quiet, the Goſpels flouriſhing eſtate, and the Kingdomes ſecuritie as deare to us, as to your ſelves; are not we as largely intereſted into either: Surely yes, is it not our owne cauſe and quarrel? are not we bound by the ſame Proteſtation, to maintaine his Majeſties Honour, and to fulfill all his lawfull Commands, and to obey the Parliament, as the great Councell and skilfull Pilots to guide his Majeſtie and the State through this troubled Sea of diſtractions and diſtempers? Shall wee ſubſcribe to our owne confuſion? (God forbid:) Shall it be ſaid, that wee the Gentry and Commonalty of *Yorkſhire*, ſhall

be

be t' e firſt that ſhall take up Armes againſt his Majeſty and the Parliament? ſhall we be the firſt that ſhall begin a civill diſcord? ſhall we be the firſt that ſhall imbrue our hands in our Brethrens blood? ſhall the malignant partie ſo farre prevaile, (thoſe that ſeeke nothing but the deſtruction of His Royall Majeſty, the ſeparation of his united Parliament, the ruine of the Goſpel, and the confuſion of this yet flouriſhing State,) ſhall they ſo farre bewitch our judgments, as to make us the chiefe Agents in ſo great a miſchiefe, (God forbid.) No deare Brethren, reſt confident that we will expreſſe our ſelvs lovall Subjects to his Royall Majeſty faithfull Subjects to the Honourable Parliament, and true Sonnes of Love to our native Kingdome; if our blood muſt be ſhed, it ſhall be for the defence of His Majeſty and the Parliament; if we muſt take up Armes, it ſhall

ſhall be againſt the Enemies of the Kingdomes, it ſhall be againſt the *Achans*, the *Abſalons*, and the wicked *Hamans* of this Land, it ſhall bee againſt thoſe Romiſh Conſpirators, which hourely hatch miſchiefe, and daily produce nought but treaſonable effects, dangerous to the ſecurity of his Majeſties Royall perſon, and the happy and Religious proceedings of this Renowned Parliament.

To which end, let us with an unite conſent pray firſt to God, to give a right underſtanding to his Sacred Majeſty, that (ſpight of their deluſions) He may plainly diſcern how much the honourable Houſes of Parliament have deſired and endeavored to ſave his Majeſty from apparent danger, and to eſtabliſh him in a Peaceable Throne.

Next, let our perſonall and actuall endeavours, ſtrive to perſwade his Majeſty to a neerer union, and a right

appre-

apprehenſion of His Parliament, ſo ſhall wee truely expreſſe our ſelves loyall Subjects to his Majeſty, faithfull Servants to the Parliament, and true Sonnes of Honour, worthy the Name of *Engliſhmen*.

So doing (however wee may undergoe cenſure for the preſent,) time ſhall not waſte many dayes ere our loyaltie ſhall finde a Royall Guerdon and we ſhalbe largely intereſted into his Majeſties favour; Theſe are our Intentions, and theſe we hope are agreeable both to Gods Lawes and the Kingdomes Law, and God ſo proſper us as our intents are loyall both to his Majeſty, and to the Parliament. Thus leaving you to your continuance in your Reſolution, We reſt

Your Friends and Servants,

The Gentry and Commonalty
of Yorkſhire.

Die

ON Friday laſt, the Lords fell into conſideration of the malignant party of the Kingdom, and of His Majeſties intention to raiſe Arms againſt his Parliament, And having ſome while debated theron, they at laſt unanimouſly Voted. 1. *That it appears the King intends to levie war againſt the Parliament.*

2. *That whenſoever the King maketh war upon the Parliament, it it the breach of the truſt repoſed upon him by the People, and againſt his Oath, and tending to the deſolution of his Government.*

3. *That whoſoever ſhall ſerve or aſſiſt the King in ſuch War, are Traytors, and to be proceeded againſt as Traytors, according to the Statutes of* 11. Rich. 2, *and* 1. Hen. 4.

His Majeſty is reſolved to ſet up his Standard between *York* and *Hull*, and ſo raiſe an Army againſt his Parliament.

Hen. Elſing. Cler. Parl. de Com.

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FIVE MATTERS OF NOTE.

AS FIRST,

A continuation of the weekely Occurrences in the high Court of *Parliament*, from the 16. of *May* to the 23. more fully then before Printed.

2. His Majesties resolution concerning *Yorkshire*: Together with many other Occurrences concerning his royall Majesty, and the high Sheriffe of that County.

3. Sir JOHN HOTHAMS learned Speech: wherein is manifested the manifold Reasons why the Subject, being commanded by the *Parliament*, ought not to disobey.

With a remarkable passage concerding the Lord Littleton, *Lord Keeper of the great Seale of* England, *and many other persons of note.*

As also other occurrences upon Saturday, *May* 21.

An Order from the high Court of Parliament, dated the 20. of *May*.

John Brown, Cler. Parl.

London printed, 1642.

Occurrences in the high Court of *Parliament*, from the 16. of *May* to the 23. 1642.

MOnday the 16. of May in the morning the Houses of both Houses met about the drawing up of the *Remonstrance*, for the Vindication of the *Parliament* touching disposall of the Militia, but they determined not thereof.

Upon the meeting of the Lords House, there was a Petition delivered unto them by the Earl of *Essex* from the County of *Stafford* (in effect to that presented to the House of Commons on Saturday before) giving them thanks for their great care of the Republique and in ordaining of the Militias and praying their full correspondency, and happy continuation with the House of Commons, in what conduced to the common good: which being red, and gratefully accepted, thanks was returned for their fidelity to the State and Parliament.

On the 18 day the Earl of *Stamford*, one of the Committees sent to *Hull*, being returned, gave an account of his said service, & the shipping of part of the Magazine at *Hull*, which contrary winds kept from coming about: acquainting the House further, of the fears in those parts of his Majesties intention to raise Armes against the Parliament. And also for the safe keeping of *Hull*. Sir *John Hotham* desired that some ships might be sent to lye in the river, and that the Garison might be enlarged; which the House being acquainted by Message, there was a conference concerning it, where many things were propounded as convenient to be done, but nothing fully determined of.

And they then likewise Ordered, that notice should be given to the Sheriffe of *Yorkshire*, and other Northerne Counties, that if any rose in a warlike manner, under pretence of taking part with his Majesty against the Parliament, that they should raise the trained Bands of those respective shires to suppresse them.

Then the Houses received Information from *Yorke*, that those Noblemen sent for to attend the House, that went thither without

the

the Houses consent, My Lord Savell, Lord Seymour, Lord Paulet, and denied to come, saying they were bound by the *Oath of Allegiance* to attend his Majesty. The consideration whereof took each House some time in debate.

Thursday morning upon the compleating of both Houses each House tooke into consideration both the Messages from the Committees resident at *Yorke*, and having severally some while debated thereon, for the security of the Kingdom, and preventing of succeeding Evils (*if not timely remedy were taken*) upon a Message there was a Conference, whereat these joynt Votes were concluded of, that touching the Magazine of each respective shire in the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, it should be put into the custody of the *Lieutenants* and *Deputy Lieutenants* of each County nominated by the Parliament for the more security.

Sabbati 18. Maii, 1642.

Lords Committees appointed by the House to joyn with a proportionable number of the House of Commons, to consider of a Declaration or Message sent to both Houses from his Majesty touching *Hull, viz. L. Admirall. E. Pembrooke. E. Essex. E. Leicester. E. Holland. Vic. Say & Seal. L. Paget. L. North. L. Spencer. L. Kimbolton. L. Brooke. L. Roberts.*

Their Lordships or any five are to meet with a proportionable number of the House of Commons in the Painted Chamber.

ON Friday last, the Lords fell into consideration of the malignant party of the Kingdome, and of his Majesties intention to raise Arms against his Parliament. And having some while debated thereon, they at last unanimously Voted.

1. *That it appears the King intends to levie war against the Parliament.*

2. *That whensoever the King maketh war upon the Parliament, it is the breach of the trust reposed upon him by the People, and against his Oath, and tendeth to the desolation of his Government.*

3. *That whosoever shall serve or assist the King in such War, are Traitors, and to be proceeded against as Traitors, according to a Statutes of* 11. Rich. 2. *and* 1. Hen. 4.

Hen. Elsing. Cler. Parl. de Com.

The Kings Majesties Resolution concerning Yorkshire.

Loving friend,

AFter my hearty Commendations remembred unto you, and to your wife, I thought it necessary to send you these Occurrences, writing them with a sad and heavy heart, by reason that there is such a great distention here, in this our County, there is no talke now in these parts but Warr, as we are very fearfull that they will ensue very sodainly; for there is great preparations in this City, and we dare not say to the contrary: His royall Majesty is resolved to stay there as yet, and doth assure us that there shall be nothing done contrary to the will of this Kingdome.

The great and manifold dangers which are like to ensue (curteous and judicious Reader) are many for these two or three yeers; but I passe them: they have been a hatching, and are now almost come to a full ripenesse, as may appeare by this ensuing Relation.

Upon this present moneth of May, there hath been many fears and jealousies entring into the hearts of true hearted Protestants in the Northerne parts of *England*, and especially in the County of *Yorkshire*, and they are now fully entred: more is the pity, we may all say, for they had some hopes that His Majesty and the honourable high Court of Parliament, would by degrees have attended one with the other, and have all joyned with one constancy of minde for the future and publique good of this Kingdome, but now in the conclusion, they are far further off then they were at the beginning, and their intentions are more apparantly known to the World: for it is absolutely thought that a Civill War will so fainly ensue, unlesse God of his great mercy stir the hearts of many.

There were many assembled together in a warlike manner in the County of *Yorkshire*, but to what intent is not yet known; but at last each man departed to his owne home: yet this is for certain that there is great preparations for war made in this County, and divers other adjoyning Counties, but to what intent is not yet known, it strikes terrour to the hearts of all true Protestants, and maketh a great provision in this County; some of the Malignant party saying, that the world will never be good til there be some blood of the Puritans shed, but the Lord of his mercy send us a sodain prevention, that the bloodthirsty Papists may lose and misse of their intended purposes.

There is in this County a great number of Papists, and likewise in many other Counties adjoyning to this, and it is thought that they are well provided and furnished with great store of Ammunition for war, whose Designe is to bring a civill War upon the face of this whole Kingdome; that while we are in dissentions among our selves, a Forraigne Enemy may have the more advantage to worke their damnable and mischievous designes.

There was upon the two and twentieth day of this Moneth, many that went to his Majesty, saying, They would lay down their lives for the safety of his Majesty: it is generally thought there will be sodainly Wars in this County of *York* and all other places thereabouts: so I rest,

Your loving friend

Edward Saunders.

From *York*, *May* the 22. 1642.

Another passage of Note that happened in the County of *York* between the high Sheriffe of the said County, and certain men assembled in Armes.

THE high Sheriffe of *Yorkshire* having Order and command from both houses of Parliament, to suppresse all those that appeared in a warlike manner in those parts; and having intelligence that there were some that had put themselves into a posture of War he commanded some certain persons to make towards them with all speed to certifie the Command he had from both houses of Parliament, to suppresse all those that appeared in a warlike manner; they having heard what the Messengers had said immediately departed from them, and every man withdrew himselfe to his owne home.

An Information received from York *the twenty two of* May, 1642.

VPon the ninteenth day of this present moneth, 1642. the honourable Houses received Information from *York*, that those Noble men sent for to attend the House that went thither without the Houses consent my Lord *Savell*, my Lord *Seymor*, and my Lord *Roch*, &c. had denied to come; saying, that they were bound by the Oath of Allegiance to serve his Majesty.

The KINGS Majesties Resolution concerning *Yorkshire*.

Loving friend,

AFter my hearty Commendations remembred unto you, and to your wife, I thought it necessary to send you these Occurrences, writing them with a sad and heavy heart, by reason that there is such a great dissention here in this our County; there is no talke now in these parts but Wars, as we are very fearfull that they will ensue very sodainly; for there is great preparations in this City, and we dare not say to the contrary: His royall Majesty is resolved to stay there as yet, and doth assure us that there shall be nothing done contrary to the will of this Kingdome.

The great and manifold dangers which are like to ensue (curteous and judicious Reader) are many for these two or three yeers; but I passe them: they have been a hatching, and are now almost come to a full ripenesse, as may appeare by this ensuing Relation.

Upon this present moneth of May, there hath been many fears and jealousies entring into the hearts of true hated Protestants in the Northerne parts of *England*, and especially in the County of *Yorkshire*, and they are now fully entred: more is the pity, we may all say, for they had some hopes that His Majesty and the honourable high Court of Parliament, would by degrees have accorded one with the other, and have all joyn'd with one constancy of minde for the future and publique good of this Kingdome, but now in the conclusion, they are far further off then they were at the beginning, and their intentions are more apparantly known to the World: for it is absolutely thought that a Civill War will so surely ensue, unlesse God of his great mercy stir the intentions of many.

There were many assembled together in a warlike manner in the County of *Yorkshire*, but to what intent is not yet known; but at last each man departed to his owne home: yet this is for certain that there is great preparations for war made in this County, and divers other adjoyning Counties, but to what intent is not yet known; it strikes terrour to the hearts of all true Protestants, and maketh a great provision in this County, some of the Malignant party saying, that the world will never be good til there be some blood of the Puritans shed, but the Lord of his mercy send us a sodain prevention, that the bloodthirsty Papists may lose and misse of their intended purposes.

There

There is in this County a great number of Papists, and likewise in many other Counties adjoyning to this, and it is thought that they are well provided and furnished with great store of Ammunition for war, whose Designe is to bring a civill War upon the face of this whole Kingdome; that while we are in dissentions among our selves, a Forraigne Enemy may have the more advantage to worke their damnable and mischievous designes.

There was upon the two and twentieth day of this Moneth, many that went to his Majesty, saying, They would lay down their lives for the safety of his Majesty: it is generally thought there will be sodainly War in this County of *York*, and all other places thereabouts: so I rest

Your loving friend

Edward Saunders.

From *York*, *May* the 22. 1642.

Another passage of Note that happened in the County of *York* between the high Sheriffe of the said County, and certain men assembled in Armes.

THE high Sheriffe of *Yorkshire* having Order and command from both houses of Parliament, to suppresse all those that appeared in a warlike manner in those parts; and having intelligence that there were some that had put themselves into a posture of War he commanded some certain persons to make towards them with all speed, to certifie the Command he had from both houses of Parliament, to suppresse all those that appeared in a warlike manner; they having heard what the Messengers had said, immediately departed from them, and every man withdrew himselfe to his owne home.

An Information received from York the twenty two of May, 1642.

UPon the nineteenth day of this present moneth, 1642. the honourable Houses received Information from *York*, that those Noble men sent for to attend the House that went thither without the Houses consent, my Lord *Savell*, my Lord *Sandys*, and my Lord *Falkland*, had desire to come; saying, that they were bound by the Oath of Allegiance to serve his Majesty.

A learned Speech made by that much honored and renowned Gentleman, Sir *John Hotham*, a member of the honorable House of COMMONS.

ON the 23. day of this instant moneth, Sir *John Hotham* summoned some particular Knights and Gentlemen to *Hull*, to advise with him concerning the present estate of the Towne in regard his Majesty was so highly incensed against him; likewise the Major, Aldermen, and all other men of good ranke and quality were at that time assembled, to whom Sir *John Hotham* (after an affable salutation to all) began to addresse him selfe to speake, which being observed, a general silence covered all the place, each man with attentive admiration catcht every syllable as soon as it uttered, fearing the aire delight with that Candor should snatch them up, and rob them of their onely happinesse; since twas a comfort to all loyall Subjects to heare and learne their duties from him that had given an ample testimony, how well he knew his owne.

The substance of his Oration, as neere as could be gathered, is set downe in this ensuing Treatise.

My loving Friends,

YOU may perhaps expect that I intend to make a large Narration with intent to clear your doubts and make my Actions to His Majesty seem (as they are) faire, Legall and Loyall.

But it is not my intention, nor will I waste so much time in that businesse, but leave it to the end, not doubting but when my Actions shall define their wished event, that the end shall crowne the bad that is past with a more full renowne. The Scope of my words at this time shall be confined to these two heads, which indeed are twins, not to be seperated.

The first is an encouragement to gaine perfect honour from your Soveraigne.

Let Loyalty be the rule of all your actions, if you intend to be truly honourable; for honour not grounded on loyalty, is like friendship without love, lost in a moment, and oft times growes the greatest Enemy; so the greatest Title, the vastest Wealth, the greatest Wisdom,

if not guided by Vertue, and so imployed proves naught to the imployer. Next, let your Loyalty take its limit from Law; otherwise, in doing things frantickly good the end may prove dangerous and your Loyalty prove worse then disloyalty. Therefore the next thing that I infist upon is Obedience to the Parliament, that pious and judicious Councell, whom you in particular, and all the Kingdome in generall, have chosen as fit men to discusse and examine all causes that have dependency on his Majesties safety, and the Kingdomes security. Now to disallow of what is by them thought convenient both for his Majesty and the Kingdomes security, is to condemne your selves of folly, that you have chosen men in whom you cannot confide. But I presume (though there be many that these words may and doe concerne in this Kingdome) that there is no one here that would not lay downe his life for the defence of his Majesty and the Parliament; neither are there any, I suppose, that need this motive to Obedience to the honorable Houses of Parliament, their owne safeties depending on the happy issue of their religious Councels.

Onely my aime is, to give you one generall reason and apparent testimony why the Subject being commanded by the Parliament ought not to disobey their Commands, though by the King commanded the contrary. Because the Parliament being called and established by the authority of the King and consent of the Kingdom, has power to command and effect all things that are agreeable to Law, tending to the preservation of his Majesties peace and welfare, and the generall good of the Subject; they being by King and People, intrusted with that waighty and great charge; and if they should fore-see an imminent danger threaten his Majesties Person, or the generall good and should not take speedy care to prevent it, they should make a violation of that Faith and Trust reposed in them: so on the contrary part, if they foreseeing a danger, by their Councels and Commands endevour to prevent it; and the Persons by them commanded falshe their trust; they are traytors both to their royall Soveraigne and destroyers of the Kingdome. This is the truth and this is my glory, that God has so far enabled me to undergoe so great a taske; and this is my hope, that all of you will manifest your loyalties to his Majesty, and obedience to the Parliament.

Many other matters I have to tell you concerning an Information of the Lord Keepers having left the Parliament.

Other

Saturday, there was a conference of both Houses, the Lords moved that the Commons would joyne with them in requiring reparations for a great breach of their priviledges; which was, that the Lords having sent Messengers to *Yorke*, to require the attendance of some of their Members at their owne House, the Messengers were imprisoned at *Yorke*. Whereupon there was a Committee of both Houses to inquire thereof.

After this, the Lords by a Message sent certaine Votes to the Commons, which they had agreed upon in their House, concerning the Kings late proceedings at *Hull* and *Yorke*; desiring the Commons would joyn with them in the Votes, which were read then in the Commons House: the effect whereof was.

That it doth appeare to the Parliament, that the King being seduced by wicked Counsellours, doth intend to make warre against the Parliament: who in all their consultations have proceeded, nothing but for the good of the Kingdome, and safety of his person.

That when the King maketh war against the Parliament, it is a breach of the trust committed to him, and tendeth to the dissolution of this government. That whosoever shall assist his Majesty in the war are traitors, and have him so adjudged by two Acts of Parliament, and are to suffer as traitors by the fundamentall Lawes of the Land.

With their Votes, the Lords sent a Petition, which they had drawn up to his Majesty; declaring the grounds and reasons of their proceeding upon those Votes, and to dissuade his Majesty from his intended purpose of raising the trained Bands of the County.

After the reading of which Petition and Votes there was a long debate in the Commons House, which held till night, and divers Speeches were made upon them, all of them concurring in the just grounds and causes both Houses have had for the making of the said Votes, and of their agreement with the Lawes of the Land: after which, they were put to the question, and Voted by the Commons that they should be forthwith sent to *Yorke* to his Majesty.

Die Martis, 20. Maii. 1642.

It is this day Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, That the Magazines of the severall Counties in England and Wales, shall be forthwith put into the power of the Lord Lieutenants of the said Counties, respectively, (being such as the Parliament doth confide in) for the service and safetie of his Majesty and the Kingdome.

Ordered by the Lords in Parliament, That this Order shall be printed and published.

Joh. Brown, Cleric. Parl.

FINIS.

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L. 148
28.

THE ORTHODOX FOVNDATION OF RELIGION,

LONG SINCE COLLECTED by that Iudicious and Elegant man Mr HENRY AINSWORTH, for the benefit of his private company:

And now divulged for the publike good of all that desire to know that Corner-stone Christ Jesus Crucified.

By S. W.

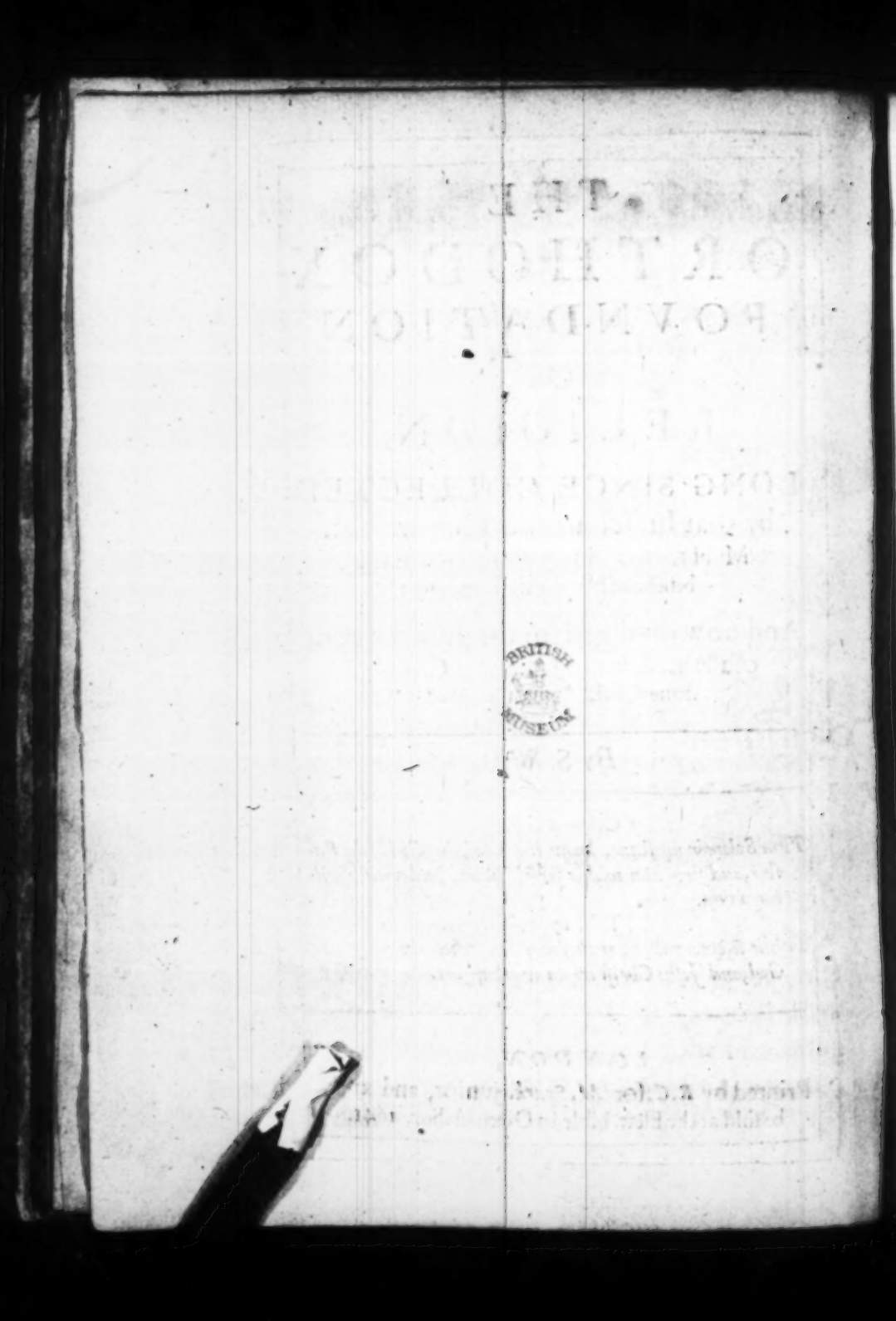
1 Cron. 28. 9.

Thou Solomon my sonne, know the Lord the God of thy Father, and serve him with a perfect heart, and with a willing mind.

Joh. 17. 3.

This is life eternall, that they may know thee the onely true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.

LONDON,
Printed by *R. C.* for *M. Sparke* junior, and are to be sold at the Blew Bible in Green-Arbor. 1641.



TO

MY MVCH HONOVRED, THE two vertuous young Gentlewomen, Mris *Elionor Carent*, and Mris *Elionor Warre*, Couſin Germans in the fleſh, Concordants in the Spirit, and Co-inhabitants under the domeſticke government of the Right Worſhipfull, and truly religious Matron Mris *Amy Long* widow, of Steeple Aſhton, in the County of Wilts, my ſingular good friends, and neighbours, peace of conſcience, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt, be multiplied here in this life, and endleſſe glory be aſſured hereafter, in the life to come.

Sweete Lady,

AS I deſire not to flatter your apparent youthfull, and future hopefull deſerts, both for your Chriſtian profeſſion, and godly converſation: ſo for your farther incouragement herein, I feare not to publiſh to the World (under your only protection & countenance) this inſuing Treatiſe, wherein my ayme is onely at Gods Glory, the Churches good, and your acceptance. It hath in a Manuſcript long lyen by mee, as a dead letter,

without any vulgar uſe; but now having the approbation of ſome judicious Divines my Friends and Acquaintance, I am reſolved (maugre all the malice of *Belial's* Brats, who fancy nothing but to ſatiate themſelves with terrene pleaſures and profits) to propoſe it to the reading & peruſing of all that chearfully endeavour to know the Lord Ieſus, and him crucified, to the ſalvation of their ſoules; in compariſon whereof the whole World, & all things therin cannot afford the leaſt parallel.

Let mee make ſo bold with you (lovely Mris *Carent*) as to call to your remembrance, how *Solomon* (unto whom your Sexe is much beholding for divine inſtructions) concludes his Proverbs; *Favour is deceitfull, and beauty is vanity, but the woman that feareth the Lord, ſhe ſhall be praiſed*: wherin (be it ſpoken in verity without any obſequiouſneſſe) you have exceeded many of your Sexe, and Age, but yet I know that you acknowledge, that it is the Lord only that hath put this feare in your heart, and I pray God continue it unto the end; then ſhall his eyes be alwayes upon you, and nothing ſhal be wanting unto you, to make you compleat

Jer. 32. 40.

Pſal. 35. 18.

Pſ. 34. 9.

pleat in the whole duty of man, & then ſhall you be incomparably more rare and pretious in the ſight of God in reſpect of your ſoule, then you are now faire, and comely in the eyes of man in regard of your body. I doubt not, but you well conſider, what an invaluable thing it is to be one of the Lords Iewels, as all his children are termed, *Mal.* 3. 17. whereas others are compared to the loathſomeſt of all veſſels, wherein there is no pleaſure. Muſter up, I pray you, all the devout women, from *Sarah* the mother of the faithfull, *Heb.* 11. 11. to the Elect Lady, to whom S. *John* dedicated his ſecond Epiſtle, and you ſhall find a whole Army to animate you in the Lords battell, and receive in the end with them the Salary of your victory, 2 *Tim.* 4. 7. Once more, meditate upon the Honourable Prerogatives Gods children have: for their nobleneſſe they are the Sons of God; for their education, they are the Schollers of Chriſt; for their protection, the Angels are their ſervants; for their calling, they are Saints; for their riches, it is Chriſt, and with him all things elſe; for their life, it is ſpirituall, for

Eccl. 12. 13.

Hoſ. 8. 8.

their death, it is pretious in Gods owne sight, and their birth-day to all felicity.

Now to conclude; that you are already of this Tribe, I am throughly perswaded, earnestly imploring the highest Mercie Seat, that you may so persist to the end. In the interim, let mee beseech you diligently to read this your owne Booke, and the Lord give his Blessing, that you may increase your knowledge of him, your faith in him, your delight to serve him, and your feare to offend him; which the Almighty granting, and you my misprisions pardoning, you have nobly gratified the poore endeavours of

Your reall and affe-

ctionate friend:

SAMUEL WHITE.

Polsholt, the first Monet h of this hopefull yeare.

1641.

TO THE READER.

I Do earneſtly intreate thee (curteous Reader) whether thou doſt already abound in knowledge, and judgement, or having but as yet a little, thou deſireſt more, to read this Treatiſe here before thou give any cenſure upon it, I doubt not but the Booke will commend it ſelfe, as others of his workes hath done, viz. his Expoſition upon the five Bookes of Moſes, and the Canticles, and his Communion of Saints, long agoe publiſhed: all which (as in this) hee is famous in accumulating the ſacred Text: But for the life of the man, my ſelfe being an eye witneſſe (living ſomewhile with him in Amſterdam) of his humility, ſobriety, and diſcretion, ſetting aſide his prepoſterous zeale in the point and practiſe of Separation; hee lived and died unblameable to the world, and I am throughly perſwaded that his ſoule reſts with his Saviour: and therefore once more I beſeech thee, accept of my good will in publiſhing, and my prayers for a bleſſing upon reading, hoping that either for the increaſing or confirming of thy knowledge in grace to glory, thou wilt gleane ſomething out of this more fruitfull than large field, which ſhall be the prayer of thy friend and brother

S.W.

BRITISH MUSEUM

A SHORT COMPENDIOVS WAY HOW TO TEACH AND LEARNE RELIGION.

Part I.

ALl Religion muſt be learned of God, *Joh.*6.45. *Mat.*25.9. God teacheth men, 1. inwardly by his Spirit: 2. outwardly, by his Word, 2 *Cor.*2.11, 12. *Neh.* 9.20. *Pſal.* 119.105. *Jam.* 1.18. *Joh.*17. 17.

Gods Word is contained in the Scriptures of the Prophets and Apoſtles, *Mal.*4.4. 2 *Pet.* 1.21. 2 *Pet.*3.1,2.

The holy Scriptures containe doctrine ſufficient for every good worke, and to bring men to ſalvation, 2 *Tim.* 3. 16, 17. 2 Tim.3.15.

All people of all ſorts ſhould learne to know the Scriptures, and ſo Gods feare by them. Deut. 31. 11, 12,13.

They which have knowledge of Gods Word, and will, ſhould teach others that are ignorant, *Deut.*32.4. 2 Tim.2.2. Deut.6.6, 7.

Mal.2.7. Of men expert in the Law, ſome are to be choſen for publick Miniſters of the Word unto the Church,

1 Pet.5.1,2. unto which worke they muſt attend.

All others that have gifts from God, may teach publiquely in order, 2 *Cor.* 14.31.

Eccleſ 4.17. But men that are ignorant themſelves, ſhould not

1 Tim.1.7. preſume to be teachers of others.

Jam. 2.5. The meanes to attaine to the knowledge of Gods Word, are firſt, prayer unto God, *Pſalm.* 119.12, 18. *Pſal.* 119.97, 98. Secondly, meditation in the Scriptures. Thirdly, converſation with the wiſe and learned, *Prov.*13.20.

1 Tim.4.16. The end of teaching and learning Gods Word, is, that by attending unto faith and holineſſe, men may glorifie God in their ſalvation, *Rom.*10. 17. *Ja.*2.22.

Hee that is to teach Gods Word muſt have reſpect unto theſe two things, 1. for preparation, and minding of things in himſelfe. 2. for declaration, and delivering them to others, 2 *Tim.* 2.15. *Mat.* 13.32.

In preparation to preach the Word, men may either chuſe ſome text of Scripture to treat of, or without a certaine text of Scripture, may handle ſome ground or grounds of Religion, and common places, ſo *Luk.*4.17,18. 21. here Chriſt preached from a text, and *Mat.*5. 2,3. here he preached without, binding himſelfe to any text.

Hee that is to preach from any text of Scripture, let him firſt conſider the generall ſcope, and drift of the Scripture, ſo ſhall hee more ſoundly explaine, and apply the ſame: So *Rom.*4.6,7. here *Paul* minded aforehand the drift that *David* aimed at, which way to ſhew, wherein mans bleſſednеſſe conſiſted, namely, in the forgiveneſſe of ſinne.

Pſal.32.1,2.

Portions of Scripture are, ſome for to illuminate our underſtanding; ſome for to ſanctifie and direct our affections, and actions; ſome for both of theſe together;

ther; ſome to illuminate our underſtanding, by manifeſting the truth, and perſwading it; ſome by manifeſting errour, and confuting it: So *Heb.* 1. 8. here *Paul* by Scripture proveth Chriſt to be God, and ſo more excellent than the Angels. And *Act.* 17. 29. here this Scripture confuteth mans carnall conceit of God.

Some Scriptures ſerve eſpecially to direct, and ſanctifie our affections and actions, by perſwading to vertue: ſome by diſſwading from vice: ſo 1 *Pet.* 1. 15, 16. and *Rom.* 12. 19. Levit. 19. 2. Deut. 32. 35.

Againe, ſome texts of Scripture treate of ſingle matters; ſome of ſundry matters, joyned together: ſo *Heb.* 11. 1. here *Paul* treateth of faith, the nature and effects of it; *Gal.* 3. 11, 12. here he treateth not of faith ſimply, but of confirming a doctrine, that wee are juſtified by faith, and refuting an errour, that we are not juſtified by the workes of the Law; *Joh.* 4. 24. here is treated of divers joyned together. This difference the Reader ſhould obſerve. Hab. 2. 4. Lev. 18. 5.

Having obſerved the nature and ſcope of the Scriptures, to be handled, let him that teacheth the Scripture reduce them to ſome generall head, as to ſome one of the Commandements, or to ſome ground of faith, according to *Rom.* 13. 9. Or to *Act.* 2. 25, 30. where *Peter* reduceth *Davids* 16. *Pſal.* to the doctrine of Chriſts reſurrection. *Reduction.*

If the Scripture ſerve not ſo much to informe the mind, as move the affections, then conſider which of the affections it moſt concernes, whether repentance, and ſorrow, or hatred and ſhunning of vice, or love of God and our neighbour, and of vertue and feare of God, or conſolation and patience in afflictions, or mercy and compaſſion to the poore and afflicted.

If the text be an hiſtory, (for as much as whatſoever is written is for our learning) the teacher ſhould *Hiſtory.* Rom. 15. 4.

reduce the ſtory to ſome generall point of doctrine, or doctrines, either of the Law or of the Goſpell; either from knowledge, or converſation. So *Mat.* 12. 41. Chriſt draweth the hiſtory of the Ninivites to the doctrine of repentance from dead workes: ſo the Hiſtory of *Elias* is drawne to the doctrine of Prayer, *Jam.* 5. 16, 17. ſo the hiſtory of *Noah*, is by *Peter* applyed to the Doctrine of Gods mercy and judgement, 2 *Pet.* 2. 5. by *Paul* to the Doctrine of faith, *Heb.* 11. 7.

Diviſion and Order. If the text divide it ſelfe into ſundry parts, or points of doctrine, order in handling muſt be obſerved, and point after point, duly entreated of without confuſion, which is hurtfull both to the teacher and learner; according to 1 *Cor.* 14. 40. and to 2 *Tim.* 2. 15. Let not diviſions be curious, or manifold, for they trouble and confound the memory.

Weighing the words. Every word in the text ſhould be weighed with the true and proper meaning of the ſame, for an error in one word, may marre the whole ſenſe of the Scripture, as in *Mal.* 2. 16. ſome read it thus (*If thou hateſt her, put her away*) where the text is corruptly tranſlated, (for he hateth putting away) that is, God hateth divorce, theſe ſenſes be contrary.

Figurative words. If the Words be againſt the common light of reaſon, being taken properly, wee muſt underſtand them figuratively, as in *Joh.* 15. 5. reaſon ſheweth that this is but a ſimilitude. Figurative ſpeeches are many, and of many ſorts, which by much labour, and obſervation, muſt be learned and underſtood, 2 *Pet.* 3. 16. *Luk.* 8. 10.

The coherence, circumſtances, and ſcope of the Scripture handled, muſt be carefully weighed: ſo *Paul*, *Heb.* 3. 7, &c. and 4. 1. 7. where hee ſcanneth the words,

words, and circumſtances of that ſentence.

The ſureſt way to expound the Scriptures is by the Scriptures themſelves, comparing place with place: ſo *Neh.* 8. 9. ſo *Paul* conferreth many Scriptures, *Heb.* 1. 2. *Scriptures compared.*

The principall matters and circumſtances in a text are moſt to be inſiſted on, others not to be neglected, but more briefly handled, as *Gen.* 13. 8. here the nature of contention, and the duties of brotherhood, are duly to be particularized; 1 *Cor.* 15. 50. here the word *brethren* is not ſo much to be inſiſted on, as the more weighty purpoſed doctrine.

Speciall regard muſt be had of gathering doctrines, and applying them: Doctrines may be gathered from the cauſe of a thing, as *Heb.* 1. 10. where Chriſts God-head is proved by the making of the world. So alſo by the effects, adjuncts, compariſons, contraries, and as the doctrines of Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, every where from the old Teſtament do manifeſt. *Co'lecting doctrines.*

Application is when the doctrine generally, or concerning others, is by the teacher applyed to the time, or perſons preſent: as in *Rom.* 4. 23, 24. So *Paul* applyeth that of the *Pſalm.* to his preſent time, *Heb.* 1. 7. and 4. 1, 2, 3. *Application.* Pſal. 95. 7, 8.

Application is to be made in wiſedome, according to the time, perſons, occaſions, and matters in hand, ſo *Noahs* hiſtory is applyed by *Paul* to faith, by *Peter* to Gods mercy and judgement, 2 *Pet.* 2. 5. by Chriſt to the ſecurity of men, *Mat.* 24. 37, 38. Heb. 12. 7.

The manner of delivering the Word, ſhould be with ſimplicity, ſincerity, and godly pureneſſe, and not with affected words, flattering ſpeeches, or humane wiſedome. *And I brethren, when I came unto you, came not with excellency of words, or of humane wiſedome,*

dome, declaring unto you the teſtimonies of God. The geſture of the body ſhould be grave and ſober, the continuance of preaching ordinarily ſhould not be long, for the Sermons of Chriſt, and his Apoſtles expreſſed in the Scriptures, are briefe.

Deo ſoli Gratia.

THE

THE MYSTERY OF PIETY,

OR,

Doctrine of truth, which is according to godlineſſe.

Part II.

DIvinity, Theologie, or Religion, is called in Scripture, the feare of Jehovah, or reverence of God; and by the Apoſtle it is named, *the truth which is according to godlineſſe*; and ſo the doctrine of it is likewiſe called, 1 *Tim.*6.3. Prov. 1.7. Gen. 20.11. Tit. 1.1.

The end of teaching, learning, profeſſion, and practiſe of Religion or godlineſſe, is the glory of God in our ſalvation. Our ſalvation ſhall be the full knowledge, light, and fruition of God, for ever in Heaven, it is called eternall life. Eph. 1.5.6. 1 Pet. 1.5.9. Joh. 17.2,3. 1 Joh. 3.2. Pſal. 16.11.

The way to ſalvation or life eternall is, 1. by the knowledge and faith of God. 2. By the ſervice of him. *Jo.* 17.3. 1. *Chron.*28.9.

Of

Of GOD.

This word (*GOD*) is uſed ſometimes properly, ſometimes improperly: properly it is a title given to the Creator of all things, ſo *Gen.* 1, 1. Improperly it is a title given to principall creatures, as Angels, *Pſal.* 8. 5. *Heb.* 2. 7. and Princes and Magiſtrates of the world are called Gods, *Pſal.* 82. 6. *Jo.* 10. 34, 35. But here we treat of God properly ſo called.

GOD.

Of God there are foure things to be conſidered:

1 That there is a God.
2 What God is.
3 That there is but one God.
4 That there be 3. diſtinct perſons.

That there is a God, is proved, beſides the teſtimony of Scripture, as by the workes of creation, eſpecially mans ſoule, *Zach.* 12. 1. by workes of providence, eſpecially judgements on the wicked, *Pſal.* 9. 16. and 58. 10, 11. by deliverance of the Saints, *Exod.* 14. 15. and by the terrours of conſcience, *Eſay* 32. 14. God cannot be knowne by face of us in this life, that is to ſay, perfectly knowne in this barbarous nature, *Exod.* 23. 20.

Eſay 52. 5.

Joh. 1. 18.

Not onely our bodily eyes, but alſo the eyes of our mind, or underſtanding and reaſon, are uncapable in this life of God, and cannot comprehend him, *Job.* 11. 7. Neither can any name or names expreſſe unto us, the infinite, and incomprehenſible being of God.

Joh. 36. 26.

Prov. 30 4.

But God of his goodneſſe doth make himſelfe knowne unto us in this life, in part darkly, and imperfectly, as in 1 *Cor.* 13. 12. and *Exod.* 33. 23.

A Spirit.

God is a Spirit, *Joh.* 4. 23. the firſt and the laſt, infinite, filling heaven and earth, *Jer.* 23. 24. moſt ſimple, without commixture or compoſition, eternall, without

without beginning or end, 1 *Tim.* 1.17. Infinite without comprehension of place, or ſtrength, 1 *King.* 8.27. Conſtant without ſhadow of change. *Jam.* 1. 17. abſolute in power, holineſſe, and glory, *Gen.* 17. 1. Goodneſſe, even goodneſſe it ſelfe.

In that God is a ſpirit, wee ought not to thinke the God-head is like to gold or ſilver, or ſtone graven by art, or any invention of man. Act. 17.29. Eſay 46. 5.

In that hee is the firſt, hee dependeth upon no other, neither may any thing be imagined before him, but whatſoever is, hath its being from him: *Rom.* 22. 36. *Act.* 17, 28.

In that God is infinite, he is not to be thought as limitable, or bounded within any place, or reſtrained to any time, or comprehenſible of any, or of all the Creatures. 2 Chron. 6. 18. Job. 36. 26.

We may learne to know God both by his Workes, Word, and Spirit, *Rom.* 1. 20. *Pſal.* 119. 104. 1 *Cor.* 2. 10, 11, 12. *Eſay* 59. 21. *God knowne*

God is knowne three manner of wayes by his workes: 1 By the excellencie of the creatures, which muſt needs be much more in the Creator, *Pſal.* 94. 9, 10. 2 By imperfections and want in the creatures, which are not in God at all, *Pſal.* 102. 25, 26, 27. 3 By cauſing and working, what is good in all things, *Eſay* 44. 24. *Jam.* 1. 17. *Phil.* 2. 13. *By his Works.* Job 41. 1. Eſay 15. 29. 1 Tim. 6. 16.

The Word of God, and Holy Scripture teacheth us to know God.

1 *By names, and titles given unto him.*

2 *By his Eſſence.*

Obiect. Gods Will, and his Eſſence be one, then God willeth all things that he doth, ſo God is all things that he doth. *By his Word.*

Anſw. When wee ſay, God willeth many things, or knoweth all things, we ſpeake not of Gods Eſſence ſimply, or abſolutely, but all things are ſubject to Gods knowledge, which know-

3 *By his Properties.* knowledge hee is: and ſome things are ſubject to Gods will, that is, God is hee to whoſe knowledge (which is his being) all things are ſubject.

4 *By his effects.*

Gods Titles. The names and titles given unto God, do concerne ſome his eſſence, and eternall being, as *Jehovah Jah, Ehieh*, I am hee that is, was, and is to come; which ſhew that God hath his eſſence, being, and exiſtence of himſelfe, and not of, from, by, or thorow any other, *Exod.* 3.14. that hee giveth eſſence, or exiſtence to all creatures, *Act.* 17.28. *Amos* 5.8. that hee giveth being to his promiſes, and fulfilleth them, *Exod.* 6. 3, 4. and 26.2. *Eſay* 42. 8. *Rom.* 4. 14. that hee is eternall, without beginning and end.

Pſal. 135. 14.

Some titles ſet forth Gods Power, and Almightineſſe, as all-ſtrong, or Almighty, *Aleah*, moſt mighty, *Gelbor*, puiſſant, *Monzzim*, almighty, *Shaddaie*, ſufficient, *Adonai*, Lord, Stay, or Suſtainer.

Some names containe the myſtery of the Trinity, as *Alohim Adonai*, which are in the forme plurall, yet joyned with other words ſingular.

Gods Eſſence. The eſſence of God is taught us in the Scripture, either abſolutely, or diverſly in reſpect of the three perſons. Gods Eſſence is abſolutely to be conſidered (thus ſet forth) that the Godhead or Eſſence of God is one, undivided, *Deut.* 6.4.

1 Cor. 8.6.

That the Godhead, or moſt Divine Eſſence, is moſt perfect, abſolute, and ſufficient in it ſelfe, *Eſay* 40.28. *Rom.* 11. 34, 35. *Gen.* 17.1.

That the Godhead is a meare act ſubſtantially, and therefore cannot ſuffer any thing, nor be reſiſted by any; neither hath, or ever had, or ever poſſibly can have, to be otherwiſe than hee is, *Pſalm.* 102. 27. *Jam.* 1.17.

Trinity. The Godhead conſidered diverſly, for the maner

of

of being, is three Perſons in one Eſſence, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghoſt, 1 *Joh.*5.7. Joh.5.26.

The Father is the firſt perſon of the Trinity, having foundation in none, of perſonall ſubſtance.

The Sonne is the ſecond perſon in the Trinity, having foundation of perſonall ſubſtance, of whom hee is eternally begotten, *Joh.*5.26.

The Holy Ghoſt is the third perſon in the Trinity, having foundation from the Father and the Sonne, from both which, hee eſpecially proceedeth, *Joh.* 14.26, &c.

In the order and manner of the creatures, the originall of the actions is aſcribed to the Father, Joh.5.17. 19. *The nature and manner of working to the Sonne*, Joh.1.3. Heb. 12. *The efficacie and power to the Holy Ghoſt*, 1 Cor. 11,12.

God hath the moſt excellent underſtanding, that is, the Eſſence of God. for all in God is Eſſentiall, therefore this is infinite, and eternall, as the Godhead is; therefore the things which it underſtandeth muſt alſo be eternall. Therefore it muſt be moſt perfect, as the underſtanding is moſt perfect. But nothing is more perfect than God, therefore nothing but God can be the eternall act of Gods underſtanding. Therefore Gods underſtanding hath reflection eternally to it ſelfe, as when a mans mind thinketh upon it ſelfe.

The underſtanding hath in it an image of the thing underſtood; therefore God eternally underſtanding himſelfe, conceived a moſt perfect image of himſelfe.

This moſt perfect bringing forth of the Image in the Godhead, is rightly called a conception, or generation, for it is the bringing forth of a thing moſt like to God, and the conception or bringing forth

of a thing moſt like it ſelfe, is generation; the more perfect the nature of the begetter is, the more neare, and conjoyned is the thing begotten; and Gods life being moſt perfect, and it being all an underſtanding, needs muſt this conception of his be moſt perfect. And ſo a moſt perfect generation, which is a ſecond manner of beeing, called the Image, (or perſon) called the Image of the Sonne of God, the Image of his *hypoſtaſis*. And ſeeing that which God underſtandeth, and his Eſſence is one and the ſame, needs muſt the Eſſence, and excellencie of the Father, and the Sonne, be both one, and eternall. Thus God cannot be minded to be, but with his coeternall Sonne.

Heb. 1, 3.

As there is an underſtanding in the Godhead, ſo needs muſt there be a will alſo, and the more underſtanding, the more, and perfecter is the will, and in God there being a perfect underſtanding, there muſt be alſo needs a perfect will; and as the underſtanding is active eſſentially in the Godhead, ſo is the will; and as hee underſtandeth himſelfe, as the moſt perfect thing, ſo alſo hee willeth himſelfe as the moſt perfect good; and thus the will reflecteth as did the underſtanding. Gods infinite wil imbracing an infinite willed thing, there muſt needs be infinite love, and higheſt pleaſure proceede there-from: ſo whilſt the eternall Father conceiveth his Sonne, and perfectly willeth it, there muſt needs be full and perfect love from the Father to the Sonne, and from the Sonne to the Father, ſo from both proceedeth a third manner of beeing, called the third perſon, the Holy Spirit.

The Holy Spirit.

It is called a Spirit for three cauſes; 1 Becauſe love is the inforcing, or motive of the Will, to the thing loved, and as it were, a ſpiring and breathing to it; and becauſe the Father breatheth in love to the Sonne, and the Sonne againe to the Father, therefore the Holy

Holy Spirit is right ſaid to proceed from them both. 2 It is called a Spirit, becauſe the proceeding of the motive betweene the Father and the Sonne, is by a hidden way. 3 Becauſe Gods children perceive Gods gifts, the gifts of love, by ſecret inſpiration.

Why called Holy.

It is called holy to diſcerne it from other ſpirits, and becauſe nothing can be more holy than this in God, and becauſe it maketh holy, and ſanctifieth the Church.

And ſeeing Gods Will and Eſſence is one in him, the Holy Ghoſt muſt needs be one with the Father, and the Sonne, coequall, and eternall. Thus by undoubted principles from Gods eſſence, there are three manner of ſubſiſtings in God, and there can be neither more nor leſſe, unleſſe we will deny God.

The Holy Spirit is taken as ſpoken ſubſtantially, or accidentally; ſubſtantially it meaneth a thing moſt ſimple in eſſence, moſt active in efficacie. Againe, that it is taken, either eſſentially, and ſo it comptehendeth God the Father, God the Sonne, and God the Holy Ghoſt, as *Joh.* 4. 24. or perſonally applyed to the third perſon of the Trinity. Accidentally, the word is uſed for a gift or motion of the Holy Spirit, *Joh.* 7. 39. but in the 1 *Cor.* 12. the Spirit, and the gifts are plainly diſtinguiſhed.

Mat. 10 20

Trinity.

The three perſons have one and the ſame common Eſſence, and common workes of the Eſſence, and of one divine Eſſence there are three perſons.

Deut. 6. 4. 1 *Joh.* 5. 7.

Inward difference.

The perſons are diſtinguiſhed from the eſſence, as the maner of a thing is from the matter; and they are diſtinguiſhed one from another, as the manner of the Eſſence, one from another. The difference of the perſons, is inward and outward; the inward difference, is the perſonall propertie, which floweth from the manner of beeing.

The Father is of himſelfe, not only in reſpect of Eſ-

ſence, but alſo in reſpect of being, the Father begetteth his Image, or Son: the Father ſendeth the Holy Ghoſt.

The Sonne as touching the Eſſence is of himſelfe, as touching the manner of being, hee is of the Father. The Sonne is begotten of the Father; the Sonne ſendeth the Holy Ghoſt.

Joh. 15. 26.

The Holy Ghoſt in reſpect of the Eſſence is of himſelfe, in reſpect of the maner of the Eſſence, he proceedeth from the Father and the Sonne.

Outward difference.

The outward difference is when the perſons are diſtinguiſhed by the effects and operations towards the creatures.

As is the order of beeing, ſo is the order of doing in the perſons; the Father doth of himſelfe, the Son in the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt in both.

3 Joh. 5. 19.

The Father createth, conſerveth, and governeth the world, the Sonne Redeemeth the world, the Holy Ghoſt ſanctifieth it.

Gods properties.

Gods properties are either abſolute, or they have relations to the creatures.

Properties of the Eſſence, generally conſidered, are 1 unchangeableneſſe, as that the Eſſence of God, is without all corruption, alteration, or locall motion, *Jam.* 1. 17.

2 Infiniteneſſe, as that God cannot be meaſured, or determined by any, hath no quantity, no determination of his power, vertue, time, and place.

Properties of the Eſſence ſpecially conſidered, are underſtanding, will, and holineſſe.

1 Gods underſtanding is ſuch, as hee perfectly knoweth all things in himſelf, without diſcourſing of things, or diſtance of time.

2 Gods will is ſuch that hee approveth the good, and refuſeth the evill, himſelfe directly is all good, and indirectly other things are good, as they carry his image, and whatſoever hee will that hee can, but

but not whatſoever hee can, hee will.

3 Holineſſe is that high perfection, and patterne of all vertue, in reſpect whereof the holineſſe, and vertues of all men, and Angels are but ſhadowes; of this holineſſe ariſeth high bleſſedneſſe, and contentation in God.

Gods properties referred to the creatures, are vertues, or vertuous acts.

Gods vertues in reſpect of his nature, is power, whereby he can effect what, when, and howſoever hee will, concerning any creature, *Pſalm.* 145. 6. *Job.* 41. 2. 3. 1 *Gods power.*

Gods power is onely active and not paſſive, depending on any other, *Eph.* 1. 19, 20.

Gods power is infinite in reſpect of his Eſſence, of the objects, of the effects and of the durance.

God can do all things, that abſolutely, ſimply, and in nature are poſſible; *Job* 42. 3.

Thus things are abſolutely poſſible to be done, which are not contradictory to the nature of God, nor to the Eſſence of other things without God; he cannot deny himſelfe, 2 *Tim.* 2. 13.

Queſt. Whether can God do a thing againſt Nature?

Anſw. If *againſt* be meant contradictory to Nature, ſo as it repugneth the Eſſence, eſſentiall properties, and definition of things, then God cannot doe ſuch; as God cannot make a body ſhould be infinite, a reaſonable creature without reaſon; for the nature of things are ſubordinate to the nature of God, as ſecond cauſes to the firſt, and things ſubordinate overthrow not their nature: if (*againſt*) be meant above the power of ſecondary cauſes, as of water to make wine, to make water out of ſtones: or if it be meant the hinderance of their naturall actions, of things flowing from their particular properties, as to let the fire

Joſh. 10. 12. Dan. 3. 23, 24, 25. Joh. 2. 9.

fire from burning, the ſunne from moving, ſuch things God hath done, and can doe daily.

2 *Fore-knowledge.*

Gods vertue in reſpect of underſtanding, is his fore-knowledge; whatſoever is, or commeth to paſſe in time, be it good or evill, with all the effects and events of actions, God foreknew before all eternity, for all things are of God, and his ordering; and hee being infinite, his underſtanding admitteth no diſtinction of time: he hath all objects alwayes preſent: Gods knowledge is certaine, and infallible, ſo as it is not poſſible things ſhould fall out otherwiſe, than he knew; for hee hath his knowledge from himſelfe, not from the creatures. Gods fore-knowledge impoſeth no neceſſity upon the events.

1 Pet. 1. 2.

Pſal. 139. 17.

Act. 2. 23.

3 *Bounty.*

Gods vertues in reſpect of his will are bounty, and juſtice: Bounty is that, by which out of love, God procureth to every creature the good thereof, and it is common, and particular: common bounty is towards all creatures, even ſuch as offend him, directing them to their naturall good, and ſuſtaining them therein, ſo long as juſtice ſuffereth, *Luk.* 6. 36. God cannot hate his creatures, as his workes, for ſo they carry a ſimilitude of God, the firſt cauſe: and none can hate himſelfe, or his ſimilitude, for a ſimilitude is ſomething of himſelfe. Gods bounty to his creatures preſuppoſeth not any debt or duty, which implyeth imperfection; and if God were bound to his creatures, he ſhould depend on them, and be imperfect.

Ezek. 33. 11.

Gods bounty which is infinite, giveth creatures good things, of nature, of ſoule, and body, and of outward things.

Such is Gods bounty, as the creatures ſuffer no evill, unleſſe Gods juſtice require it, or a greater good confirme it; of this vertue God is called patient, and long ſuffering.

Particular, or ſpeciall bounty, is that whereby God loved

loved ſome men (in Chriſt) fallen into ſinne, and furthereth them to eternall ſalvation. Gods ſpeciall bounty, is the firſt beginning, both of ſalvation, and of the meanes thereto. This bounty is no inherent quality in us, but wee are the object of it, it is a grace making us gratefull, not finding us ſo. Eph. 2. 4, 5.

4 *Gods juſtice.*

Gods Juſtice is a vertue by which he executeth his love to reaſonable creatures, giving rewards to the obedient, and puniſhment to the obſtinate, *Gen* 18. 24.

Gods Juſtice is eſſentiall and unchangeable, as hee cannot of his bounty forgive the creatures puniſhment, unleſſe his juſtice be ſatisfied.

5 *Truth.*

Gods vertue in reſpect of his underſtanding, and will together, is truth, or veracity, whereby he ſo manifeſteth himſelfe to the reaſonable creature, both by words, ſignes, and workes, as indeed hee is, *Revel.* 15. 3.

God hath in himſelf the patterne of all true things, ſo that whatſoever in the creature is true, is ſo becauſe of the firſt truth in the mind of God.

Truth in God is eſſentiall, and ſo unchangeable; but truth in man is contingent, and ſo changeable. Rom 3. 4.

Seeing Gods truth is eſſentiall, his teſtimony muſt needs be authenticke. Hither of Gods vertue, now follow their acts, that is, the exerciſe & the applications of theſe vertues, to the manifeſtation of his glory.

Gods Decree.

Gods actions are either the decreeing of things, or the execution of the decree.

Gods decree, purpoſe, or counſell, is his purpoſe of exerciſing operations about the creatures, and of decreeing them unto their end: God worketh all things after the counſell of his owne will, *Act.* 4. 28.

Whatſoever God doth in time, that hee did decree to doe from all eternity even as hee doth it. Act. 15, 18. Eſay 46. 10.

The execution of the decree is an act, whereby Gods counſell and purpoſe is ſhewed forth, and applyed to

the creatures, by an effectuall operation, *Eph.* 1.11. This is either firſt, or ariſing of the firſt.

Creation. Gods firſt operation, or execution of the decree, is the creation of the world, *Gen.* 1.1. Creation is the firſt perfect making of all things pure, and good: ſo the originall word importeth, *Gen.* 1.1.

ברא

Creation is of two ſorts, { Immediate. / Mediate.

Immediate creation, is the making things of meere nothing, *Heb.* 11.3.

Mediate creation, is the making of things of ſome former matter, but that matter ſo rude as that it is no better than nothing, ſo God created man of the duſt of the earth, *Gen.* 2.7.

Creation proceedeth from an infinite power, and therefore excludeth all neceſſary matters, for though God made man of the duſt of the earth, yet did he this not of neceſſity, but could have made him alſo of nothing. If God needed any matter to worke upon, his power were not infinite, but ſhould depend on another thing, and not be abſolute.

Job 42. 2, 3.

Pſal. 33. 6.

6 Dayes. The creation of the world was diſtinguiſhed by the ſpace of ſixe dayes, in reſpect of the effects, and whole world created; and for our better capacity. And for as much as God is above all time, and of infinite power, it is to be thought hee created every thing particular in a moment, ſaying, *Let there be light, and there was light*, *Gen.* 1.3.

1 Day. In the firſt day were created the heavens, and the earth, and matter mixt together, and light, *Gen.* 1.1,2. Angels, *Job* 38.7. minerals, and pretious ſtones.

2 Day. In the ſecond day was the out-ſpread firmament, or heaven, the diviſion of waters above from the waters beneath, *Gen.* 1.6,7,8.

The heavens are threefold, 1 The Aire, wherein are the clouds and the fowles fly, called thereupon *the clouds*

clouds of Heaven; *Dan.* 7.13. and, *The fowles of Heaven*, *Pſal.*88. 2 The higher place, wherein are ſet, the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, *Gen.*1.17. 3 The higheſt heavens, where Gods glory is moſt manifeſt, and the Angels attend upon his Majeſty, *Mat.* 6. 9. hereupon *Paul* mentioneth the third heaven, 2 *Cor.* 11. 2. This ſeemeth to be made the firſt day, and the Angels, the inhabitants therein, *Gen.* 1.1. *Job* 38.6,7. The diviſion of the waters was ſuch, that ſome remained below with the earth, ſome as the watery vapors, were lift up above the heavens; that is, above the lower region of the aire, wherein they congeale, and after diſſolve into raine, ſnow, and dew.

In the third day was a twofold worke: firſt, gathering of the nether waters into one place or ſea, that the dry land might appeare. Secondly, the bringing forth of herbes, and trees, *Gen.* 1. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. 3 *Day.*

In the fourth day was made the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, to give light on the earth, and to be for ſignes, and ſeaſons, *Gen.*1.14. 4 *Day.*

In the fifth day was a twofold worke; firſt, fiſhes: ſecondly, fowles, *Gen.* 1. 22, 23. 5 *Day.*

In the ſixt day was a twofold worke; firſt, beaſts of all ſorts: ſecondly men, *Gen.* 1.24, 25, 26. 6 *Day.*

Man, as touching his body, was made of the duſt of the earth, to admoniſh him to humiliation; his ſoule was imbreathed of God. The woman, as touching her body, was made of *Adams* ribbe, to admoniſh man and wife of their conjunction, her ſoule being alſo imbreathed.

Man, beſides naturall gifts, had alſo ſuperiority, and carrieth Gods Image, whereof more hereafter. *Man.*

This whole creation God hath ſo compact together, as that it is one world, environed about with the heavens; neither have wee ground in Gods

Word, nor in reaſon to thinke, there are more Worlds than this one.

World. The world is knit together by the ſeverall parts: the heavens to the fire, the fire to the aire, aire to the Water, water to the earth, ſo that it is not poſſible to find any empty place.

The figure of the world is round.

The perfection of the world conſiſteth in the parts, and degrees; perfection of parts is ſuch, as God ſufficiently furniſheth the world with variety of creatures for his glory: perfection of degrees is ſuch, as that all creatures have ſuch force and vertue, as may ſerve to Gods glory, conſervation of the world, and uſe of man.

The beauty of the world is the wonderfull propertie, ſhape and colour, which appeareth in all things, the perpetuall ſucceſſion of things by generation, that plants, and living things dying, are yet continued.

The cauſes of creating the world were; firſt, his love towards us: Secondly, the ſhewing forth of his glory: Thirdly, the fulfilling of his decree.

The end, that God may be knowne, and honoured of his creatures.

The uſe, for men, generally all, ſpecially the elect.

7 Day. The ſeaventh day God made a Sabbath of reſt, and of it are to be noted three things, 1 Gods reſting from creating: 2 His bleſſing it above other dayes: 3 His ſanctifying it for the uſe of the Church.

Chiefeſt creatures which God created, were Angels, and men, in whom hee imprinted his owne divine Image.

Angels were created of God, *Pſal.* 148. 1,5. *Col.* 1. 16. Although it be uncertaine what day they were created, yet it may be probably ſuppoſed on the firſt day.

Angels

Angels are ſpirits finite and compleat; they are finite, as all other creatures are, and ſo differ from God the infinite, and uncreated ſpirit; and they are compleat and full, and ſo ſubſiſting of themſelves, and therein differ from the ſoules of men, which are incompleat, and Eſſentiall parts of man. Heb. 1.7.

Angels are in nattre more excellent than men, and therefore the moſt excellent creatures, they are called the ſonnes of God, therefore were created in holineſſe and truth, the Image of God. Dan. 10 5,6. Job 1.6.

The bodies wherein Angels ſometimes appeared, were not eſſentially united with them, as mens bodies be, but were aſſumed for a time, though it be uncertaine whereof they were made.

The end why they were created, was firſt, to praiſe, and celebrate Gods glory, *Pſal.* 148.2, 3. *Job* 38. 6, 7. Secondly, to execute his Commandements, *Pſal.* 103. 20. Thirdly, to obſerve and conſerve the creatures, *Pſal.* 91.11. Therefore Angels are mighty, *Pſal.* 103. 20. they are ſwift and nimble, and ſo fly in their adminiſtration: they execute Gods will with all readineſſe and cheerfulneſſe. Eſay 6.6.

They are wiſe, & of great underſtanding, 2 *Sam.* 14.20. they are by nature mutable, & can change from good to evill, as they that ſinned are an example, *Jud.* 6.

Man the excellenteſt of all earthly creatures, was made both male and female in the image of God, *Gen.* 5. 1,2,3.

Gods Image in man.

Gods Image in man, was the underſtanding and mind of man, ſo as he had the full, right, cleare and orderly knowledge of all things created of God, and of God himſelfe, ſo farre as concerned mans happineſſe: this is manifeſt by *Adams* naming of all creatures, and by the reſtoring of Gods Image in us by Chriſt, which is in all wiſedome, and ſpirituall underſtanding, *Col.* 1.9. Gen 2.

Gods Image was in the will, the perfection where-of was ſuch, as it had a right inclination, and appetite to that which was good, and a free execution of the appetite, or a free will, without impediment inward or outward, *Eph.*4.24.

God Image was in the affections, as the ſenſitive deſires of nature, eating, drinking, generation, in love, hatred, that theſe are mere conformable to truth, reaſon, and holineſſe, *Eph.*4.24.

Gods Image was in the body of man, in that it was perfectly framed, and diſpoſed in the parts, not ſubject to death, or diſeaſe, his ſtature upright, his proportion moſt exact, his colour amiable, have nothing whereof to be aſhamed; theſe admirable parts and members, alſo ſhadowing Gods vertues, as the eye, Gods all-ſeeing; the tongue, Gods Word; the hand, his Almighty power.

Gen.1.25.

Gods Image in the Soule.

The ſoule carrieth an image of the unity of the Godhead, and trinity of perſons, in that there is one ſoule with three faculties; of underſtanding, will, and memory: the whole man carrieth Gods Image, in that he had the rule, and ſoveraignty over all the earth, *Gen.* 1. 28. *Pſal.* 8.

The end of the Image of God in man, was the glory of the Creator, and the unſeparable joy and delight of man, in his owne ſimilitude and union with God, *Pſal.* 17.5 1. *Gen.* 2. 25. ——19.20.

Paradiſe.

The place where man was ſet (with this image of God upon him) was the Garden of Eden, or of pleaſure, commonly called Paradiſe, *Gen.* 2.8. This Garden ſeemeth by the deſcription thereof, and the rivers therein, to have beene about Meſopotamia, or Babylon, *Gen.* 2.

In this Garden, watered with a goodly river, God cauſed to grow every tree, pleaſant to the eye, and good for meat, *Gen.* 2.9.

The

The tree of knowledge of good and evill, was forbidden man to eate, upon the paine of assured death, by eating whereof man should know the difference betweene evill and Good, and how heavie a thing it was to disobey the Commandements of God.

The tree of life was a Sacramentall tree, confirming, and assuring man of Gods grace, favour, and conservation in life for ever, *Gen.* 2. 9. *Rev.* 2. 7.

In all likelihood, this Garden of Paradise, which is now no where to be found, was defaced by *Noahs* flood, untill which time it was kept, and warded by Cherubins, that men may seeke the paradise which is in the highest heavens, *Gen.* 3. 24. 2 *Cor.* 12. 4. *Luk.* 23. 43.

In the Paradise man was imployed, first to serve God his Creator, & procure his owne eternall blisse, whereunto hee was fitted with freedome of will for perfect obedience, according to the tenor of the covenant of workes. Secondly, to dresse, and till the garden. Gen. 2. 16, 17.

This covenant of workes graven in mans heart, as may be gathered by *Gen.* 3. 8. & 4. 6. *Rev.* 2. 14. 16. was sealed with two Sacramentall trees; the first the tree of life, assuring life and glory if hee obeyed: the second of knowledge, assuring death if hee transgressed: hitherto of the creation of the world, now followeth the conservation, and government of the same.

Worlds conservation.

Unto the conservation of the world, pertaineth first the knowledge of God, which is such as he exactly, and fully discerneth all things, what they are, of what sort, what they can doe, and what shall become of them in the end, for from the beginning of the world he knoweth all his workes.

Gods knowledge.

Gods knowledge is not onely in generall, but of every particular, and of their severall actions, words, and thoughts, *Psal.* 139. 2, 3, 4. It reacheth to smallest and vilest creatures, *Mat.* 10. 30.

As

Gods will. As God knoweth, ſo he willeth, and appointeth all things concerning the creatures, *Jer.* 25.5,6,7.

Gods Will and appointment extendeth alſo to beaſts, and the vileſt creatures, *Mat.* 10.29.

God manifeſteth not all his will concerning his creatures and his dealing with them, *Mat.* 24.36. ſo then Gods revealed will, and his ſecret will are not oppoſite, but onely members and degrees of will. Gods will is 1 Abſolute. 2 Conditionall.

Abſolute, are things abſolutely promiſed, or ſpoken without condition, on our part: Conditionall, when God willeth any thing of us, but with condi-
1 Tim. 2.4. tion; as hee willeth that all men ſhould be ſaved, namely if they will beleeve in Chriſt, *Mat.* 28.20.

As God hath a determining will, concerning his creatures, ſo hee hath an appointing will unto them, *Heb.* 10.5,6,7.

Whatſoever God willeth abſolutely, and of it ſelfe, is good, *Jam.* 1.13. *Pſal.* 119.12.

Gen. 45.5. & 50.20. God willeth ſinnes, not ſimply, but by accident, as hee knoweth and meaneth to bring good out of them.

Rom. 1.19,20. 2 Tim. 3.16,17 Gods appointing will is wholly manifeſted in the law of nature, and in the written law.

Gods appointing will pertaines to all men, God would have all to beleeve, as beleefe is a point of obedience, and honour to him; but as beleefe is a grace, and a gift of God, hee willeth not all men to beleeve, but his elect.

Gods providence. God doth not onely know all things, and preſcribe his will, but alſo his providence, and determinate counſell, reacheth unto all his creatures, *Jer.* 10.23. *Lam.* 3.37. Gods providence extendeth even to the very leaſt things, *Mat.* 20.29. *Prov.* 16.9.

Gods providence conſiſteth in conſerving and governing his creatures; which creatures are of foure ſorts,

ſorts: 1 ſome that have beeing, as heaven and earth: 2 ſome that have beeing and life, as plants, and herbes: 3 ſome that have beeing, life, and ſenſe as beaſts, birds, and fiſhes: 4 ſome that having beeing, life, ſenſe, and reaſon, as men.

God conſerveth in his creatures, their exiſtence, or beeing, and their vertues.

Gods conſervation of their exiſtence, is the continuing of the ſubſtance of the creatures; *In him wee live, move, and have our beeing*: moving being not only locall, bul the moving of the heart, ſpirit, reaſon, will, &c. Act. 17.28.

Gods government is the ordering, and ruling, and diſpoſing of his creatures, to his owne pleaſure and glory, *Pſal.* 104. *Eſay* 45. 7. *Job* 12. 10.

Gods government in ſpeciall is towards Angels and Men, for in them firſt hee determineth and ordereth their actions: ſecondly, hee giveth them lawes: thirdly, hee executeth juſtice.

God determineth, and ordereth the actions, and inclinations of men, moving them, and directing them to their end.

Mans actions and inclinations hee moveth and ruleth effectually.

God ordereth them to the good of this life, and of the life to come, which is the chiefeſt good.

God ordereth ſinne two wayes; firſt, by limitation, and binding it, that it ſhall goe no further than hee pleaſe. Secondly, by turning it againſt the nature, and will of the ſinner into good.

Gods providence is double, mediate, and immediate; mediate is when he conſerveth, and governeth one creature by another, as by inſtruments: immediate is when he uſeth no meanes, or worketh againſt means.

God uſeth not meanes of neceſſity, but of pleaſure; theſe meanes are not to be excluded from Gods providence,

dence, but included: God can uſe evill inſtruments for good, againſt their power and will. The chiefe meanes to governe the world are Angels.

The end of all is Gods glory, *Deus vult gloriam ſuam neceſſitate naturæ ſuæ, non libere.* The foundation of true glory is vertue, or goodneſſe.

Gods glory is ſpoken of two wayes:

1 As an eſſentiall property of his.

2 As the glorifying of himſelfe, ſo Gods glory conſiſteth in the knowledge of himſelfe.

God when he had created the world, ſaw all that he had made, and lo it was very good: but after, God looked upon the earth, and loe it was corrupt, for all fleſh had corrupted his way upon the earth. It is then now to be minded, how corruption, and evill came into the world.

Gen. 1.31.

Gen. 6.12.

Corruption, or Sinne.

The corruption of the world is ſet forth by divers names, in reſpect of truth, it is called lying, or falſhood: in reſpect of good, it is called evill: in reſpect of righteouſneſſe, it is called iniquity or unrighteouſneſſe: in reſpect of Gods law, it is called unlaw ſuneſſe, or tranſgreſſion of the law: generally it is called ſinne, that is, aberration or miſſing of the ſcope or marke: in reſpect of duty, it is called diſobedience, rebellion, defection, or apoſtaſie, diſloyalty, perfidiouſneſſe: in reſpect of our firſt eſtate, it is called a fault or ruine.

Vide Rom. 5. 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19. Joſh. 22. 22, &c

The cauſes of evill, is the changeableneſſe of the creatures will.

Evill hath no efficient cauſe, but a deficient; evill hath neither nature nor ſubſtance, for all ſuch are of God, but ſo is not evill; all ſuch are good, but ſo is not ſinne.

Evill is an accident cleaving unto natures ſubſtance, actions, *Rom.* 7. 21. The creatures were made of nothing, and being of themſelves not able to ſuſtaine themſelves, have an inclination to come to nothing, if God do not uphold them: ſo evill is cauſed of nothing.

Evill

Evill began in Heaven amongſt the Angels, and ſo ſpread into other reaſonable creatures, as men; is called ſinne, their fall, and is the privation of Gods Image in them. 2 Pet. 2. 4. Rom. 5. 16.

God himſelfe cannot do evill, or be tempted thereto, and he onely hath this priviledge, men and Angels want it. Jam. 1. 13.

Evill Angels.

The Angels therefore being ſubject to temptation, were tempted of their owne motions, and willingly gave place to their evill thoughts, and being not ſuſtained of God did fall, *Jud.* 5, 6. Job 5. 4.

Though wee know not how many, yet there were many that fell from their heavenly eſtate; of thoſe many that fell, one ſeemeth to be the chiefe, and others drawne by, or accompanying him, called therefore his Angels, *Mat.* 25. 4. Mark. 5. 9. Luk. 8. 30. Eph. 6. 12.

Being falne, they could not of themſelves riſe againe, neither did God miniſter any grace or helpe unto them, therefore they added ſinne unto ſinne, and ſo doe continue ſinning ſtill extremely untill the appointed time of their damnation.

The Angels that are falne have divers names to denote their evill condition, ſometime they are called evill Spirits, lying Spirits, uncleane Spirits, Devill, that is, a calumniator, *Mat.* 25. 41. Sathan, that is, adverſary, or fiend, *Job* 1. 6. demons, of their knowledge, *Mat.* 9. 34. waſters, or deſtroyers, *Deut.* 32. 17. rugged ſatyrs, of their horrible hew, *Lev.* 17. 7. dragon, and ſerpent, of their craft and venemous nature, *Rev.* 12. 9. the Tempter, *Mat.* 4. 3. the Malitious one, 1 *Joh.* 3. the Enemie, *Mat.* 13. 28. Roaring Lyon, 2 *Pet.* 5. 8. the Strong-armed one, *Mat.* 12. 29. Prince of the World, *Joh.* 12. 31. that ruleth in the aire, *Eph.* 6. 12. & 2. 2. Beliall, the unruly, or without yoke. Eſay 18. 10. — 1 King. 22. 23. Zach. 13. 2. —

Mans first sinne is fitly called disobedience, or fall, for the Law was significatively given to testifie man to be subject to Gods Law, and his obedience. And whereas before man walked with a steady foote in Gods ordinance, by this fact hee stumbled, and fell from the seat of integrity. The efficient immediate cause was man himselfe, of his owne free will, without any necessity, inward or outward, transgressing the Law. The efficient cause remote, and mediate, was the Devill tempting man to sinne. The instrumentall cause was the serpent, whose tongue the Devill abused to frame arguments to beguile with. The arguments, or causes to move inwardly were first directly perswading for good, that they should be as Gods. Secondly, perswading from feare of punishment. Adde to these the two qualities in the tree: first, that it was good to eate: secondly,

The Angels that fell to be Devils, and malitious, sought leave of God to tempt mankind, and obtained it, *Gen.* 3. 1. with *Job* 1. 6, 11, 12. and 2. 3, 5, 6.

The Devill used the Serpent, the subtilleſt beast of the field, for his instrument, for it could more easily creepe into the garden secretly, and carrieth with it a shew of smooth simplicity: hee first assault the woman, and beguiled her, then by the woman the man, *Gen.* 3. 1 *Tim.* 2. 13. The woman was stirred to sin by outward meanes, and by inward motions. The outward meanes was partly the alluring words of the serpent, partly the forbidden fruits beauty. The serpents words, after he had made a subtill entrance of communication with the woman, containe 4. horrible evils, 1 Fraud, & imposture, *Ye shall not surely die, Gen* 3. 4. 2 Against Gods Word, and truth, in saying they should not die, if they did eate, but be like Gods, *Gen.* 3. 4, 5. 3 Calumniation of God, as if for envie of mans good, he had forbidden the eating of the

to be deſired in the eye; theſe two might perſwade Adam *to eate, if hee could do it carefully, but the other two of Satan was directly to perſwade to ſinne, as it is ſinne.*

the fruit. 4 Wreſting of Gods Word, and of the name of the tree of knowledge, as if it were ſo called, becauſe it had vertue in it, to give men ſuch knowledge of good and evill, as God himſelfe hath, who is to continue in good, and avoid evill for ever. Thus the ſerpent ſought to alienate the mind and will of *Adam* from God, and from his Word.

The inward meanes to draw unto ſinne, was the faireneſſe of the forbidden fruit, which the woman ſaw to be gracefull to the eyes. Gen. 3.6.

The inward motions of the woman to ſinne were generally three: firſt, the luſt of the fleſh, for the woman ſaw that the tree was good for meate. Secondly, the luſt of the eyes, for ſhee ſaw it was pleaſant to the eyes. Thirdly, the pride of life, for ſhee ſaw it was a tree to be deſired to get knowledge; and of theſe three the Apoſtle ſpeaketh: more particularly her inward motions may be minded by their degrees; firſt, an impreſſion of the Serpents ſuggeſtions: Secondly, a darting of her thoughts concerning God, and the image of God within her: thirdly, forgetfulneſſe of Gods workes, and words: Fourthly, a doubtfulneſſe of the truth of God: Fifthly, an affection of a better ſtate, & more dignity. Sixthly, a beliefe of the Devils impoſture. Seventhly, an inclination of the will and affections to the forbidden fruit. 1 Joh. 2.16. Gen. 3.22.

The cauſes by accident were both mans affections, to be like God, which affections God had given him to be uſed orderly, for Gods actions made in man

When theſe luſts had conceived they brought forth ſinne, for the woman tooke of the forbidden fruit, and did eate. the woman having ſinned,

ſended to the glorious Image. Secondly, alſo naturall affection to the ſavoury tree for conſerving and refreſhing naturall life, the efficacie of all theſe cauſes man could and ſhould have reſiſted, rejecting the outward, ſubjecting, and ordering the inward: had hee ſo done, hee had beene conſerved. The matter of this ſinne, is the eating of the forbidden fruit, the unlawfulneſſe of the act, being forbidden by Gods Law. The end, or finall cauſe of evill is done: but the end of the act (as it had a ſhew of good) was that man might be as God, knowing good and evill.

ſought to propagate her ſinne, and was the devils inſtrument to tempt her husband, and he alſo did eate: there is no mention of the womans perſwaſion to the man; nor how ſinne ſeiſed upon him; but the ſame degrees may be minded in him alſo, as were in her; this one more eſpecially, his immoderate love and affection to his wife, that made him yeeld ſo ſuddenly to her temptation.

Adams ſinne yeelding, and falling as it is ſet downe, *Gen.* 3. 6. noteth the marvellous force and ſwiftneſſe that is in the firſt motions of ſinne, whoſe worke even in a moment, and ſuddenly, doth deprive of life and grace, even as a mans naturall life is taken away in a moment of an hower, which is many monthes ere it came to the perfection of birth.

It added much to the greatneſſe of *Adams* ſinne, that the fruit which hee eate was of the Sacramentall tree, and ſo hee violate the divine myſtery through ambition to be like God himſelfe.

It much increaſed their ſinne alſo, that they had Gods Image, and perfection of grace, not for them alone, but for all their poſterity, if they had continued in Gods feare; who loſt the ſame not in themſelves onely, but deprived all their ſeed of theſe

Rom. 5. 12.

bleſſings:

bleſſings: thus our firſt parents fall was not onely ſinne, but the cauſe of ſinne. Thus much of the firſt ſinne, and entrance of it, now followeth a ſecondary ſinne, which is propagation and fruit of the firſt, and this is of two ſorts; firſt, native corruption; ſecondly, actuall tranſgreſſion.

The firſt ſin was not proper to the firſt parents, but common to all, who ſinned in his loynes.

Native corruption, which wee commonly call originall, is that ſinne, which man draweth with him from his firſt origine, or beginning, *Pſal.* 51.5.

Originall ſin.

This native corruption is called fleſh, *Job.* 3. 5. *Gen.*6. 3. *Rom.* 7. 14. It is called alſo luſt or concupiſcence, 1 *Pet.* 1.4. *Jam.*1.14.

So then not the ſubſtance of our fleſh, or nature of our fleſh is ſinne, but the vitious quality adherent, or cleaving thereto.

It is called alſo, the old man, *Eph.*4.22. by this alſo it appeareth that the naturall fleſh, or ſubſtance is not ſinne, for that it is not put off, nor crucified. Col.3.9. Rom.6.6.

This native or originall is worſe than actuall ſinne, becauſe it is more largely ſpread, even unto infants alſo, which actuall ſinne is not, becauſe it is the fountaine and cauſe of other ſinnes, *Rom.* 7.20.23. Rom.5.14.

This native ſinne is ours two wayes; 1 by imputation; 2 by inhabitation.

By imputation, becauſe *Adam* being the roote of mankind, as hee had Gods image for him and his poſterity, ſo he loſt it from himſelfe and his poſterity; ſo that which in *Adam* was perſonall, unto us is naturall. Rom.5.12.

By inhabitation, becauſe there dwelleth in us an inclination, and diſpoſition of all the faculties unto evill, *Rom.*7.20,23. For by ſinne wee are not barely bereft of Gods image, as reſt depriveth man of motion, but this privation, and bereaving, hath within it an inclination of the man to evill; as ſickneſſe doth both deprive a man of health, and ill affects the patient, for

for ſinne is ſoule ſickneſſe, *Pſal.* 103. 3. *Rom.*7.23,24.

Originall ſinne poſſeſſeth the whole man,body,and ſoule, and ſpirit, as the image of God was not in the
Rom. 7.17. body onely, but in the whole man,ſo was this contrary privation, *Rom.* 7. 24.

Native corruption is propagated from parents to children, by reaſon of the beginning thereof, not properly by it ſelfe, that is to ſay, that commeth from the parents to the children, whereof this ſinne may ariſe, namely a diſpoſition to ſuch an evill tempter of the man,as was in originall ſinne: There is an impreſſion from the mother to the children, in her wombe, of which impreſſion, this ſinne buddeth; as tinder taketh fire, which is not fire it ſelfe; this impreſſion children draw, as they do naturall diſeaſes, as ſtone,gout,not the actuall griefes, but impreſſions,
Pſal. 51.5. which are the beginnings of them: Though the ſoule be not in the ſeed, yet is there in it a diſpoſitive vertue of the body, for the receiving of the ſoule, which when it is put into the body, it conformed in his
Soule of man. manners thereunto; hence it is that one angry man begetteth another,one harty man another:for though the feet,which is the ſubject of the gout,be not in the head, nor the ſoule,which is the ſubject of anger, be not in the ſeed, a formative vertue of the naturall
Gen. 5. 3. members,and a diſpoſitive vertue unto the ſoule.

The ſoule is at one inſtant both created and united unto the body,and deprived of the grace of the ſpirit, which *Adam* had for all, and loſt for all; as actuall ſinne is done by the perſons ſinning,ſo originall ſinne is the ſinne of nature, done by the will of the beginning of humane nature: for as one man hath many members, ſo one mankind hath many perſons;and as one actuall ſinne done by the hand, and not the reaſon of the guilt, from the will of the hand, but from the whole heart, from which, as from a fountaine,

the

the motions of ſinne are derived unto the members, ſo from the will of *Adam*, which was the beginning of mankind, the whole inordination of nature hath the reaſon of guilt: and as actuall ſinne, which is the ſinne of the perſon, is drawne unto all the members by ſome perſonall act, ſo originall is drawne unto all men, by naturall act, which is generation: and as humane nature is drawne by gneration, ſo the defect of humane nature is drawne alſo, yet this rather of Gods ordination, than of mans generation, 1 *Cor.* 15. 22. Rom. 5. Pſal. 51.

Originall ſinne remaineth in the baptized, and in the regenerate, and in their poſterity, *Rom.* 7. 22. and man begetteth children, not by the ſpirit, but by the fleſh, and therefore hee draweth not the ſpirit, but the fleſh, *Joh.* 1. 13. *Pſ.* 51. 7. yet hath not Originall ſinne ſo great degree and efficacie in the regenerate, as in the wicked.

The parts of this native ſinne are foure; firſt, in reſpect of the mind, want of underſtanding, a ready inclination to doubt of God and his will. Secondly, in reſpect of the will, a ready inclination to take hold on, and to performe evill. Thirdly, in reſpect of the affections, a prone inclination to too much, or to too little, as inordinate anger, love, and the like. Fourthly, in reſpect of the appetite, a proneneſſe to immoderateneſſe, as meat, drinke, venery, &c. *Parts of native ſinne.* 1 Cor. 3. 5. Pſal. 2. 13. Rom. 7. 23.

Actuall ſinne is that which floweth from the originall, and that which is ſo properly called, is the difference from Gods Lawes, unrighteouſneſſe or diſorder of the action from the Law and Will of God. The unrighteouſneſſe of actions muſt be diſcerned, from the actions, and motions themſelves, as defects from effects: as a man goeth halting, his haltingas it is a moving of the body, or naturall is good, as it is a lame, imperfect, or wrong moving, it is evill & againſt nature. *Actuall ſin.*

Actuall sinnes are all actions, inward and outward, contrary to Gods law, in the will, thoughts, purposes, devises, desires, and in the outward members, all our actions aberring from Gods law.

Sinne leaving a spot, or staine in the soule, as the Leopards spot in the skin, Jer. 13. 23.

Sinne distinguished by the causes, are either ignorance, as Pauls *persecuting the Church, or of infirmity, as* Peter *through feare and trouble of mind, denyed Christ, and 3. of malice, as* Judas *betrayed Christ. 4. of negligence, when a man is not wary of Sathans subtilties. Against ignorance is opposed the revelation of Gods will to man: against infirmity, the strengthning of the spirit, to withstand the assaults of the flesh, the world, and the Devill: against malice is the changing of the stony heart into flesh: against negligence is true and holy feare in the hearts of the Saints.*

Actions are twofold, 1 Inward: 2 Outward.

Inward, of the mind, and appetite: Actuall sinne of the minde, is an unrighteousnesse of mans thoughts, as doubtings of God, false opinions, evill imaginations, *Jer.* 10. 24. *Psal.* 14. 2, 3. Actuall sinne of the appetite, is the inordinatenesse of the motions of it, called concupiscence, *Jam.* 1. 14. Concupiscence remaineth in the regenerate, *Rom.* 7. 1. The first motions of concupiscence or lust, are sinne, though there be not a full assent of the will.

Outward sinnes, are the unlawfulnesse of, and unorderlinesse in outward actions, as in false worshipping of God, swearing, killing, stealing, lying, whoring, and the like.

Sinne is pardonable, or unpardonable; sinne unpardonable is the sinne against the Holy Ghost: other sins are pardonable, not of their owne nature, properly, but of Gods mercy, against whom they are done.

The sin against the Holy Ghost, is the denying of the

the faith, and truth, which was once acknowledged, and this done of meere preſumption, and contemned unto the end, without repentance, *Mat.*12.24. *Heb.* 6. 1 *Joh.* 5.

This ſinne is onely in the reprobates.

Againe, ſinne either raigneth, or raigneth not: raigning ſinne is that, which is againſt manifeſt conſcience, that the ſinner doth pleaſe himſelfe with it, or at leaſt doth not repent for it; *Ro.*6.12. *He that committeth ſinne is of the devill*; that is, with will, and delight falleth into it, and continueth in it; Not raigning ſinne, is for which the ſinner is ſorry, and repenteth. 1 Joh.3.

Actuall ſinne, imperfectly ſo called, is ſinne of omiſſion, not doing, in reſpect of our duty to God, men, our ſelves, *Mat.* 25. *I was an hungry, &c.*

Sinne againſt negative Commandements, as not to preſerve life, chaſtity, good name, when a man can; or againſt an affirmative precept, as when one curſeth his parents, are ſinnes of omiſſion.

The puniſhment of ſinne comes now to be handled: touching the Angels that ſinned, whom God ſpared not, but caſt them downe into hell, and delivered into chaines of darkneſſe, to be kept unto damnation, 2 *Pet.* 2.4. *Jud.* 6. for overthrowing of mankind: Gods wrath was heavy againſt Satan, and his kingdome was threatned to be deſtroyed, and his head cruſhed, *Gen.* 3. *Sinnes puniſhment.* *The devils.*

Touching the ſerpent, Satans inſtrument, there was a curſe above all other beaſts, creeping on his belly, eating of duſt, and enmity betweene mankind and him. *The ſerpent.*

Touching the puniſhment of *Adam*, and his wife, 1 there was a perceiving with ſhame, of their nakedneſſe: 2 Sorrow and paine in diſeaſes, and in labour. 3 Griefe of mind, and pricke of conſcience, *Gen.* 3. *Adams* puniſhment in ſpeciall, labour and ſweat. The *Adam and his wife.*

womans puniſhment in ſpeciall, ſorrow of child-bearing.

Their outward puniſhment, caſting out of Paradiſe.

All mankind. The puniſhment layd on all mankind, was in reſpect of the mind, and of the body.

Puniſhments in reſpect of the mind are theſe: 1 Ignorance, whereby wee cannot know the truth, nay not often with much labour. 2 Obſcurity, and confuſion in the underſtanding. 3 Hardneſſe to conceive and retaine things in the memory.

Puniſhments in reſpect of the body are, 1 Common weakneſſe, and frailties of all men. 2 Speciall diſpoſition to ſickneſſe, and diſeaſes. 3 Paine and labour, eſpecially in women, paine of child-bearing. 4 Deformity, and want of beauty, and comlineſſe, thorow evill proportion of the members, or evill colour. 5 Famine, withholding or taking away the fruits of our lands, chattels, &c. 6 Want, or loſſe of children. 7 Contentions, emulations, reproaches, infamies, warres among men. 8 Many things againſt health, good name, goods, and livelihood; yea there is the puniſhment of deaths temporall, the ſeparation of ſoule and body, and deaths eternall, ſeparation of ſoule and body from God, from all felicity and glory, called the ſecond death.

Second death. The ſecond death is to be minded, firſt for the parts and degrees of it: ſecondly, for the circumſtance of time and place.

The parts and degrees are theſe: 1 the damned have no communion with God, nor participation of grace, 2 *Theſ.* 1. 9. 2 They are united unto Satan, and are partakers of his puniſhments. 3 They are aſhamed and confounded, becauſe their ſinnes are manifeſted, *Rev.* 20. 12. 4 They are aſhamed, and fret, and envie the felicity of the Saints in Heaven; *Pſalm.* 112. 10. 5 They are horribly pained and tormented with

Mat. 25. 41.

feeling

feeling Gods wrath, and the worme of conſcience. Mark 9.49.

The circumſtances of time and place, are theſe; firſt, of place, which is hell, the bottomleſſe deepe, the utter darkneſſe, *Gen.* 16. *Luk.* 13.21. 2 *Pet.*2. Secondly, of time, and that will ever breake the heart of the damned, (which is eternity) that hee is paſt hope of ever going out, or having end of his paines, *Mat.*25. 46. All ſinne of its owne nature requireth puniſhment, *Rom.* 6.23.

Puniſhment is evill in reſpect of the ſufferer, good in reſpect of God that afflicteth it juſtly for ſinne.

As ſinne hath taken away the agreement with the nature of God, ſo puniſhment hath taken away the communion with the felicity of God.

Mans miſery is remediable through the mercy of God; though God ſpared not the Angels that ſinned, yet the grace of God that bringeth ſalvation to all men hath appeared. Tit 2.11.

The remedy of our miſery, conſiſteth of two things. 1 A deliverance from ſin. Secondly, our reformation to the Image of God, *Pſal.* 32.1. 2 *Cor.*3.18. *Mans remedy for his miſery.*

Our deliverance from ſinne containeth foure things. 1 Pet.1.2.

1 Election to life eternall, by God the Father.

2 Redemption by God the Sonne. *Pſal.*130.8.

3 Juſtification, *Rom.*5.1.

4 Sanctification, and reformation into the Image of God, by the Holy Ghoſt.

In our firſt eſtate wee had two things, Gods favour, and Image. In our fall and miſery wee have two things, Satans Image, and Gods diſpleaſure. In our reſtauration are had two things, reconciliation to Gods favour, and reſtoring of his Image.

God from all eternity did predeſtinate, appoint and elect ſome Angels, and ſome men, to be for ever heires of the riches of his grace, and glory, 1 *Tim.*5. 2. 1 *Pet.*2.8. *Predeſtination.*

God keepeth the Angels that they cannot fall, conſerving and increaſing their happineſſe, *Joh.* 13. *Jer.* 22.40. *Mat.* 24. 24.

Election. Election is of God the Father, *Eph.* 1. 2,3. and onely ſome few men are elected unto life, and they out of all ſorts, Jewes and Gentiles, *Matt.* 20. 16. *Rom.* 9. 24. *Rev.* 7. 9.

Election hath two acts and degrees concerning the end, which is eternall glory, the firſt of God, then of the creature. Secondly, the meanes to the end, *Rom.* 9. 11.

The firſt act touching the end, is Gods purpoſe, to take ſome men, which were to be created to eternall grace and glory, leaving other ſome.

The ſecond act is his purpoſe, whereby hee ordaineth theſe men, being to fall in *Adam*, unto eternall glory through Chriſt, *Joh.* 3.16. & 6.47. The ſignes, teſtimonies, and benefits of our election in Chriſt, are an effectuall calling, the gifts of lively faith, *Act.* 13. 4,5. 2 *Theſſ.* 2. 13,14.

Rom. 8. 30. & 9. 23,24.

Juſtification, *Rom.* 8.30. and glorification, begun in this life by holineſſe, being predeſtinated thereunto, *Eph.* 1. 4.

Rom. 8. 29. Act 13. 48.

That unto which God hath elected us, is firſt, Adoption of ſonnes. Secondly, Sanctification. Thirdly, Eternall life. The firſt, and onely moving cauſe of Election, is the good-pleaſure, and love of God, *Eph.* 1. 5. *Rom.* 9. 18. *Eph.* 1. 11. Chriſt being the ground-worke hereof.

This is further confirmed thus, God is the beginning of his actions, *Rom.* 11. 35. The firſt beginning dependeth upon no other outward beginning, but God ſhould depend upon an other outward beginning, if he could not elect whom he would, without having reſpect of their faith: faith is the effect of election, *Act.* 13. 48. therefore it cannot be the cauſe,

or

or before election. The meanes whereby wee are predeſtinated, is Jeſus Chriſt, *Eph.* 1.5. Chriſt is not the firſt moving cauſe, but the meane, for hee is onely Gods Sonne, and we being predeſtinated to the adoption of Sonnes, have the Sonne-ſhip by communion with Chriſt. Heb. 2. 10, 11, 12.

Gods election is firme, and immutable, *Eſay* 46. 10. 2 *Tim.* 2. 19.

The meanes whereby wee come to be aſſured that wee are elected, are theſe: Firſt, the Goſpell teaching, that all truly beleeving ſhall be ſaved, *Tit.* 1. 2. and wee knowing wee beleeve, aſſure our ſelves by the effects of election found in our ſelves, as effectuall calling, faith, juſtification, ſanctification, and good workes. Secondly, by the teſtimony of Gods Spirit in us, *Rom.* 8. 9. 16, 17. 1 Cor. 2. 10, 11, 12. 2 Cor. 1. 21. 23. We judge our ſelves elect by the judgement of faith, which is infallible, 1 *Theſ.* 1. 4. 2 Pet. 1, 2, 3.

Adoption is the firſt and proper thing whereunto we are predeſtinated, and there is no exceeding benefit, whereof it ſhould not be the effect: as in the Trinity the Father is firſt, then the Sonne, and the Holy Ghoſt. In the order of working our ſalvation: the firſt is the Father predeſtinating, the ſecond is the Son redeeming, the third is the Holy Ghoſt ſanctifying. That the Father is firſt in working, ſee *Joh.* 5. 19. 30. & 16. 13, 14. Adoption being then the worke of the Father, it is before Redemption, and ſo before Juſtification, and Sanctification. The firſt worke of Grace in bringing us to Chriſt, is given by the Father, *Joh.* 6. 65, & 44, 37, 39. *Adoption.*

Oppoſite to Election is Reprobation, which is Gods decree, to leave ſome in their ſinne and miſery, and for ſinne to damne them; or reprobation is Gods decree, to paſſe by ſome and not elect them, and to permit thoſe to fall into ſinne, and to puniſh them eternally for ſin. *Reprobation.*

Here

Herein are two acts, 1 Negative: 2 Poſitive.

Negative, to refuſe, or not elect: poſitive, to puniſh for ſinne: for that from which they are reprobate, is from grace and glory, and that whereto they are appointed, is damnation: the cauſe of not electing, Gods juſt pleaſure and will, *Mat.* 11. *Rom.* 9. without reſpect of good or evill in the creature; the cauſe of the ſecond act, (damnation) is mans ſinne.

God is hee that reprobateth ſome ſinners, *Rom.* 9. 18. 1 *Theſ.* 5. 9. This is alſo from eternity, *Jud.* 4. and many are paſſed by and reprobated, *Mat.* 20. 16. The things whereof men are reprobate, are true faith, 2 *Tim.* 3. 6. true ſanctification, *Tit.* 1. 16. eternall life, *Act.* 13. 38. compared with 1 *Theſ.* 5. 9. & *Jud.* 4. The cauſe of puniſhing the wicked is their ſinne, for juſtice muſt needs reſpect the innocency, or guilt of the creature. The end of reprobation is properly Gods glory, *Prov.* 16. 14.

Eſay 46. 10. The perdition of the Reprobate is alſo the end, but by accident: unchangeable alſo is the decree of God. Thus much of Election and reprobation.

Of Redemption. Wee are redeemed by Jeſus Chriſt, *Gen.* 3. 15. *Gen.* 22. 18. *Gal.* 3. 16. & 3. 13. *Rom.* 16. 20.

By Chriſt. In Chriſt two things are to be conſidered, 1 his perſon, 2 his office.

In his perſon are to be conſidered two natures, divine, and humane, *Rom.* 9. 5. with 1 *Tim.* 2. 5. and *Mat.* 1. 13.

His natures. Chriſts divine nature, is the ſame eſſence with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, from eternity, *Rom.* 9. 5. 1 *Joh.* 5. 20. *Heb.* 1. 10. from *Pſal.* 102. 25.

Our Redeemer was to be God, becauſe the greatneſſe of the evill, wherewith men were poſſeſſed, could not be taken away but by God himſelfe: for Gods wrath being infinite, could not by any creature which is finite, be overcome: He alſo that muſt be our Mediator,

tor, muſt know us, and all our eſtate, wants, thoughts, deſires, which no creature can doe.

Chriſts humane nature is of the ſame eſſence, and ſubſtance with the ſonnes of *Adam*, 1 *Tim.* 2. 5. *Heb.* 2. 14. It could not ſtand with Gods juſtice to puniſh Chriſt for our ſinnes, if he had not our nature; neither could it have beene ſatisfactory for us, if it had not beene done by a man.

The union of theſe two natures, the Godhead, and the manhood to make one perſon, and mediator Jeſus Chriſt, is the great myſtery of godlineſſe, God manifeſted in the fleſh, 1 *Tim.* 3. 16. *Their union.*

The manner of union of theſe two natures, is extraordinary, and therefore hath a peculiar name of Perſon, or hypoſtaticall union, and it was by the Godhead, aſſuming the manhood, as is ſhewn, *He.* 2. 16.

This humane nature was to be particularly, of the ſeed of *Abraham*, *Gen.* 22. 18. of *David*, *Pſ.* 132, 11. *Act.* 2. 30. of the virgin *Mary*, *Eſay* 7. *Mat.* 1. 23. to fulfull the promiſes, and to have right to the kingdome of Iſrael, and to be free from originall ſinne, which is in ordinary generation, the nature, ſeed, or blood of the woman was ſanctified and formed by the Spirit of God, and thereof Chriſts fleth created: Chriſt had the ſame time, degrees, and progreſſe, for his formation, as other children have, *Luk.* 1. 26, 36, 39, 56. and 2. 4, 5, 6. when the forming of humane nature was abſolute, ſo as there was the matter, and forme of a man, then was the Godhead of Chriſt united thereto, by a myſticall and incomprehenſible union, *Luk.* 1. *Col.* 2. 9. Luk. 1. 35.

The union is moſt neere, and indiſſoluble, that Chriſt from thenceforth for ever continueth God and man in the unity of one perſon.

The union of natures is not a confounding of them, or of their properties, for the Godhead remaineth

neth infinite, inviſible, incomprehenſible, the body finite, viſible, locall, *Act.* 3.21. 1 *Cor.*15.26,27,28.

Luk.24.36. By this union ariſeth the dignity of Chriſts perſon above men and Angels, that hee is next to God, or the Godhead it ſelfe, ſuch is the grace of eminencie by the joyning of theſe two natures, *Act.* 20.28.

Phil.2.9 By this union Chriſts humane nature purchaſeth habituall grace, as knowledge, wiſedome, holineſſe, ſuch as a creature cannot have, *Mark.*13.32. This gradation ſheweth, Chriſt as man to have greater knowledge, than men or Angels.

From this union is given unto Chriſt, the higheſt power of office, as to be head of the Church. In reſpect of this union, the whole perſon of Chriſt is worMat.20.18. ſhipped, though the direct object of worſhip is the Godhead onely, *Heb.* 1.6. *Mat.* 4.10.

From this union ariſeth a communion both of the names, and titles, and operations, ſo as theſe two natures conjoyned, and diſtinguiſhed, are called one Rom.1.4. Chriſt, Lord, Head, Mediator, King, Prieſt, Juſtice, Wiſedome. In every work the operations of the Godhead, are Chriſts operations, as equall with the Father, which giveth an infinite worth, and moſt perfect force together with the operation of the manhood, unto the worke of mediation, *Act.*20.28. *Heb.* 9.14.

From this union alſo ariſeth, figurative and unproper ſpeeches, as when things common to the whole perſon, are attributed to one of the natures: There is one mediator betweene God and man, the man Jeſus 1 Tim.2.5. Chriſt; whereas Chriſt is Mediator as God and man; As alſo when things proper to one nature, is given to another, as in *Act.* 20.28. The Church of God which hee hath purchaſed with his blood, yet blood is proper to man, and not God, *Luk.* 24.39. Hitherto of Chriſts perſon, now of his office, under which name the proper accidents and effects of Chriſts perſon be contained.

In

In generall, it is to be Mediator between God and man, 1 *Tim.*2.5. Without a Mediator man could not be reconciled unto God, nor ſaved from his wrath, becauſe it was the good pleaſure of God, by him to reconcile all things to himſelfe, and to ſet at peace through the blood of his Croſſe, both the things in earth, and the things in heaven, *Col.*1.19,20. *Of Chriſts office.* *Mediator.*

And becauſe the Majeſty of God was offended by ſinne, and could not paſſe it over without puniſhment, *Rom.*3.5,6.

Chriſts Mediatorſhip containeth all the office, and functions, and operations which hee performed for mans Redemption.

By propheſie; firſt, decerning the cauſe betweene the parties differing, as an arbitrator. Secondly, relation of covenants and conditions, on both parties, as a meſſenger. By Prieſthood; thirdly, the requeſt or interceſſion for the offending party. Fourthly, payment or ſatisfaction to the party offended. Fifthly, effectuall application of the ſatisfaction. By kingdome; ſixthly, by defence, and conſervation of the parties ſatisfied for, from all their enemies, and ſo ſanctification, and reſtauration of Gods Image.

The office of Mediator requireth both divine and humane nature in one perſon. God the Father ordained Chriſt to be the Mediator before the foundation of the world, 1 *Pet.* 1.20. *Heb.*5.4,5. God continually conſerveth Chriſt in the office of Mediation, *Eſay* 49. 8. Chriſts Mediatorſhip is eternall, and everlaſting, *Heb.*7.21. *Pſal.*45.6.

In reſpect of this office our Mediator is called Chriſt Jeſus, a Saviour that is anointed of God, for the Father continually and perfectly filleth his humanity with plenty of grace, ſufficient every moment to performe the worke, *Pſal.* 48. 8. This anointing Luk.4.18.

comprehendeth collation of gifts unto the humane nature, and ordination to office in respect of both natures; it is the person of Christ, God and man, that is Mediator, *Heb.* 9. and not one nature only, either Godhead or manhood.

In the administration of this office, though Christs whole person do things, yet must wee distinguish of the worke, or the action or effecting of the worke; for every worke of our Mediator is one, as his person is one, but distinct actions concurre, one of the Godhead, another of the manhood, as the body and the soule concurre in many workes: as for example, Christ offering himselfe for a sacrifice to God, was a worke, and a function of his office common to both natures, but to accomplish this worke, there concurres a diverse operation, one of the Godhead, another of the manhood; for the manhood suffered the punishment for our sinnes, and the Godhead offered it up a most worthy satisfaction to the Father, *Heb.* 9. 14. The blood of Christ (that was the manhood) which through the eternall Spirit (that was the Godhead offered himselfe. Hitherto of Christs office in generall, now to the severall parts or branches: The parts or branches of Christs office are three, 1 Prophesie, 2 Priesthood, 3 Kingdome.

Christs Prophetical office.

Christs Propheticall office, is a function of his person, whereby he teacheth and informeth his Church, *Joh.* 1.18. *Act.* 3.22. *Deut.* 18.18. *Act.* 7.37. and of this office he is called the Word, *Joh.* 1.1. In this worke of mediation is to be considered, 1 what hee doth in respect of God: 2 in respect of us. In respect of God, Christ the Mediator goeth up into Heaven, *Joh.* 3. 18. to receive the lively oracles of life, and speak things as the Father taught him, *Joh.* 8.28. In respect of men he came downe from Heaven, *Joh.* 6.38. to teach the doctrine of the Father which sent him, *Joh.* 7.16. And to give

give unto his Diſciples the word which the Father gave to him, *Joh.*15.15. even all things that he heard of his Father.

This propheticall office hath two parts: firſt, the function of teaching: Secondly, the efficacie of things taught.

The function of teaching is, whereby Chriſt inſtructeth his Church in things needfull to ſalvation, *videlicet*, by doctrine, exhortation, dehortation, conviction, conſolation, reproofe, 2 *Tim.*3.15,16.

This worke Chriſt fulfilled mediately, and immediately.

Immediately in his owne perſon, when for three yeares and more, he preached publikely, and privately, with great power of the ſpirit, *Mark.*1.14. Chriſts doctrine was alſo confirmed by ſignes and miracles, which partly belong to his Propheticall, partly to his Kingly office. The ſumme of Chriſts Doctrine was the two Covenants or Teſtaments, the Law and Goſpell, *Luk.*4. 18. He preached the Law, by ſhewing the true meaning and fulfilling it, againſt the corrupt and falſe gloſſes of the Scribes and Phariſees. Againe, Chriſts preaching was more publike, or more private; publike, when he taught in the Synagogues, and Temple; private, when apart hee opened the myſteries of the Kingdome of God unto his Diſciples. Chriſt alſo foretold by the Spirit things to come, as the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, the comming of falſe Prophets, Antichriſt, and the end of the world. Chriſts preaching was of things preſent, and of things to come; of things preſent he taught, 1 the doctrines of faith to be delivered, good workes to be practiſed: of things to come, as before. Chriſt confirmed his doctrine by ſignes and miracles, by ſeales and Sacraments, which partly belonged to his Propheticall office, partly to his Kingdome, and Prieſthood.

Chriſts preaching.

Mat. 5, & 6, & 7. chap.

Joh.8.20.

Mark.4.35.

Mat.24.

Joh. 3.

Mediately Christ preached by his servants, which were Angels and men, *Rev.* 22.16. 1 *Pet.* 3. 18, 19, 20. By Angels, as at the giving of the Law; by *Gabriel* to *Daniel*, *Zacharias*, and *John*. And by men before his comming, as Patriarchs, Prophets, Priests, 2 *Pet.* 3. 18, 19, 20. After his comming in the flesh, by Apo-
Eph. 4. 11. stles, Evangelists, Prophets, Pastors, and Teachers. When Christ sendeth any, hee that receiveth them, receiveth him; and he that refuseth them, refuseth him.

The meanes whereby hee furnisheth his Ministers,
2 Tim 3. 16. Joh. 16. 13, 14. are two: 1 the word spoken and written: 2 the Spirit. Thus much of the function of teaching, the efficacie of the things taught, is a vertue whereby Christ worketh in all men by his Spirit, pricking their hearts, illuminating their understanding, changing their affections, working repentance, faith and comfort; these effects he worketh by his Spirit, which hee sendeth into the hearts of his people, *Joh.* 16. 1.

Christs Priestly office. Christs Priestly office, is whereby hee is ordained to satisfie for the sinnes of the elect, and redeeme them to God, *Heb.* 9. 11, 12.

The workes of his priesthood are foure; first, obedience: secondly, satisfaction: thirdly, intercession: and fourthly, blessing.

Gal. 4. 4. Rom. 8. 3, 4. Joh. 17. 19. Touching obedience, Christ having taken upon him our flesh, perfectly fulfilled the Law, that his obedience might be imputed unto us, *Rom.* 5. 19.

Esay 53. 5, 6. Touching satisfaction, Christ made satisfaction for sinne to Gods Justice, that the elect might be delivered from the guilt and punishment of sin; onely the expiation and satisfaction that Christ made, is the proper and perfect price, that serveth for the sinnes of the world; neither have the workes of sufferings of men or Angels any place herein, *Heb.* 9. 12. The expiation of sinne was made by Christs suffering, 1 *Pet.* 3. 18.

Christs

Chriſts ſufferings are, 1 Privation of good, 2 Infliction of evill. *Chriſts ſufferings.*

Privation of good, is the want of joy, glory, and happineſſe, which otherwiſe hee ſhould have had, had he not willingly emptied himſelfe for our ſakes. Joh. 17. 5. Phil. 2. 7. 2 Cor. 8. 9.

Infliction of evill, was all the miſeries which hee ſuffered for our ſakes: which we may conſider in three ends; 1 the things he ſuffered in the whole courſe of his life: ſecondly, the ſpeciall things hee ſuffered before his death: thirdly, his death it ſelfe before his buriall. His ſufferings in the whole courſe of his life, was outward, and inward: his outward ſufferings were hunger, *Mat.* 4. 2. *Joh.* 4. 7. poverty, *Mat.* 8. 20. cold, wearineſſe, injuries, reproaches, perils, flight into Egypt, and from the Jewes, *Mat.* 2. 14. & 11. 19. *Luk.* 7. 34. *Joh.* 15. 20. 2 *Cor.* 8. 9. *Mar.* 9. 34. & 21, 22. *Joh.* 8. 48, 59. & 11. 57. His inward ſufferings were, griefe, and ſorrow for the hardneſſe of mens hearts, ignorance and temptation of the devill, *Mat.* 4.

His ſpeciall ſufferings before his death were inward and outward: inward was his trouble, agony, deadly ſorrow, wherein the Holy Ghoſt noteth the paſſions, feare, amazedneſſe, agony, or conflict, grievous trouble, neere unto fainting, *Mat.* 26. 37. *Mark.* 14. 33. that his ſoule was very ſorrowfull, even unto death, *Joh.* 12. 28. *Mat.* 26. 38.

Three things are to be conſidered in ſinne, and ſinners. Firſt, the turning away from God and his Law. Secondly, the turning unto Sathan, and the pleaſures of ſin. Thirdly, the continuance in

This intolerable ſorrow in Chriſts ſoule aroſe from the feeling of the burthen of all the ſinnes of the elect, and of Gods wrath for them, all which as in one view were ſet before him, 2 *Cor.* 5. 21 *Eſay* 35. 6. *Pſal.* 40. 12. & 38. 3. *Pſal.* 22. 14, 15. here was Chriſts conſcience

that ſinfull eſtate. Accordingly in Gods juſtice or puniſhment, which God muſt inflict on ſinners, are 3. things to be conſidered: 1 *The loſſe, and deprivation of Gods preſence, and joyes that are in the ſame,* 2 Theſ. 1. 9. Pſal. 16. 11. 2 *The torments and ſenſible paines anſwerable to the pleaſures of ſinne,* Rev. 14. 10. 18. 7. 3 *The eternity of the torments, in ſuch as never breake off, nor ceaſe from ſinne by repentance, and converſion unto God,* Act. 25. 18. Rom. 1. 4. *which is the ſtate and caſe of all reprobates: and naturally this was the caſe of all men; but ſupernaturally, by the grace of Chriſt, in the elect, their continuance in ſinne is broken off by repentance, and converſion unto God,* Act. 25. 18. Ro. 6. 1, 4. *Where continuance of ſinne is not, there Gods juſtice requireth not* ſcience afflicting him for the ſinnes of the elect now made his, the devils and all the powers of hell loading and charging him, *Job.* 14. 30. the heavie ire and wrath of God laid upon him, *Pſal.* 38. 3. The higheſt degree of Chriſts inward afflictions, was on the croſſe, when he cryed, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken mee, Mat.* 27. 46. The greateſt ſorrow, feare, trouble, and temptation that poſſibly could be in humane nature, without being overcome, was in Chriſt; the Lord would breake him, and make him ſubject to infirmities, *Eſay* 53. Act. 8. 22. 1 *Pet.* 2. 24.

The outward ſufferings, was the ignominy, reproach, contempt of men, which he ſuffered, *Pſal.* 22. 6. *Pſal.* 69. 20. *Heb.* 12. 13. *Mat.* 27.

The effects of Chriſts ſorrowes in him were theſe: 1 prayer, that if it were poſſible the cup might paſſe from him, *Mat.* 26 39. 2 More fervencie in prayer, with ſtrong crying and tears, *Heb.* 5. 7. 3 A ſtrong ſweate in his agonie, and prayer, like drops of blood falling to the ground, *Luk.* 22. 44.

In this agony the blood in the

eternity of punishment, but onely the extremity of it for a time. Christ therefore, suffering but for the elect, whom hee converteth from their sinnes, was not to suffer eternall punishment; but temporary, such as for the extremity of it, and in respect of the dignity of his person, who was God and man, was equivalent to that which the elect should have suffered: hee suffered not for the damned, for why then should themselves also suffer, seeing Christs death is not in vaine? but he suffered for them which otherwise should be damned, his blood was shed for remission of sins, and where sins are remitted, punishment is not inflicted.

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In this his agony an Angell appeared from heaven comforting him, *Luk.* 22. 48. Thus Christ was made inferiour to the Angels, *Heb.*2.9.

Other outward afflictions besides the fore-mentioned, he had, which I thus particular.

1 The betraying of him into the hands of the Sergeants, and officers, by *Judas*, as a theefe, *Mat.*26.

2 His leading about the city, as a malefactor, to the high Priests house, to *Pilate*, to *Herod*, and backe againe to *Pilate*, *Mat.*26. 5. & 27.2. *Luk.*23. 2, 8,9,10,11. where by the Ecclesiasticall Judge, he was condemned of blasphemy; and worthy to die, *Mat.*26.65,66. hee was accused to the civill Judge, as an enemy to *Cesar*, but the Judge found him innocent, and so pronounced him, *Mat.*27. 78. *Luk.* 23.4. he was by *Herod* and his servants mocked, set at nought, cloathed with a robe, and sent away with derision, *Luk.* 23. 11. To appease the rage and tumult of the wicked Jewes, contrary to justice, and the manifestation of his conscience, he was condemned of *Pilate*, *Mat.* 27. 24, 25, 26. hee was

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ſcourged, crowned with thorns, ſpit on, & buffeted by the Miniſters and ſoldiers, a reed was put in his hand, they bowed the knee before him to deride him, they ſmote him on the head, that he might propheſie, *Mat.* 27.29, 30, 31. the Jews cryed out, Crucifie him, crucifie him; Thus they denyed the holy One, & the juſt, and deſired a murtherer to be given them: then was Chriſt condemned to die, and being led out of the City to execution with two evill doers, hee carried his Croſſe himſelfe, but being weary and faint, by reaſon of his agony and ſcourging, *Simon* of *Cyren* was compelled to helpe him, *Joh.* 19.17. *Mar.* 15.21. He was hanged upon a croſſe by nales that pierced him in his hands, and feet; his death was curſed in reſpect of God, *Gal.* 3.13. in reſpect of man, ſhamefull; in reſpect of puniſhment, painfull; in reſpect of the extention of the veines, and ſinues, and the piercing of them in the hands and feet (where they all met, and were knit together) it was very horrible; hee was hanged betweene two theeves, for more ſhame, and ſo was accounted amongſt the wicked, being nailed on the croſſe; hee endured thirſt, reproaches, and ſcoffings of the wicked, they wagged their heads, and derided him of his faith and doctrine, *Mat.* 27.42, 43. here he wreſtled with the devill, and all his Angels, the powers of darkneſſe, *Col.* 2. 15. *Heb.* 2. 14. and by faith with his Father, who ſeemed to have forſaken him: at the horror, and indignity of this his paſſion, the ſunne was aſhamed, and turned blacke, the earth quaked, the rockes rent, and the vaile of the Temple cleft, *Mat.* 27 45. 51. and at the laſt hee breathed out the ghoſt, commending his ſpirit into his Fathers hands, and ſo death ſeized on him, and ſeparated his ſoule and body; being dead his ſide was pierced with a lance, out of which water and blood iſſued, but his legges were not broken.

Heb. 12. 2.

Mat. 47. 46.

Joh. 19 33, 34.

Chriſt

The end of Christs ſuſferings were partly in reſpect of God, of himſelfe, and of us: as that God the Father, for his wiſedome, mercy and juſtice, might be glorified in the ſame, Joh. 13. 31, 32. *That Chriſt by ſuffering might enter into his glory,* Luk. 20. *that he might bring, and reconcile us unto God,* 1 Pet. 3. 18. *that hee might know to pity and ſuccour us,* Heb. 2. 18. *that hee might lend us an example to ſuffer with him, that he might deſtroy the devill, that had the power of death, and death it ſelfe,* Heb. 2. *that hee might ratifie the two teſtaments,* Heb. 9. *that hee might aboliſh ſinne,* Rom. 6. *that wee might be married to Chriſt,* Rom. 7.

Chriſt was to die by effuſion of blood, for to be a perfect ſacrifice, and to confirme the teſtament by his death, *Heb.* 9. 16, 22.

Chriſt was not a meere patient onely in his death, but an agent alſo, offering himſelfe to God willingly, *Heb.* 9. 14. *Joh.* 10. 17, 18. Chriſt himſelfe was the Prieſt, *Heb.* 9. 1. the ſacrifice was himſelfe, *Heb.* 9. 14. the Altar was the eternall Spirit. 9. 1. 14. the fire was the afflictions hee felt in himſelfe, and the ſpirit.

Chriſts perſon being God and man, the ſacrifice was of more worth, and eſteeme, than if all men and Angels had dyed, *Act.* 20. 28. Therefore was his death, not onely a puniſhment, but a ſatisfaction: Chriſts body was laid in grave untill the third day.

Chriſts Kingdome is either eſſentiall by nature, which he hath common with the Father, and Holy Ghoſt, *Prov.* 8. 22. 30. or it is the ſecond Perſons by diſpenſation, as hee is God manifeſted in the fleſh, and mediator of the Church, *Phil.* 2. 6, 1 *Cor.* 15. 24. Of this latter do we treat of in this place. *Chriſts Kingdome.*

The workes and parts of Chriſts kingly office, are theſe; 1 Victory for himſelfe and us. 2 Glory. 3 The taking of the Kingdome. 4 The adminiſtration of

the Kingdome. 5 The reſignation of the Kingdome to his Father.

Victory. Victory, is whereby Chriſt overcommeth the devill, and ſinne, and death, and ſubdued them under him and his, *Heb.*2.14. 1 *Cor.*15.54,57.

Glory. Glory, is the exaltation and glorification of Chriſt, and that of the whole perſon, but in divers reſpects, for his divine nature was exalted, not by increaſe of eſſence, or of glory, his humane nature was exalted, both by increaſe and manifeſtation. Glory is the Kingly dignity, conſiſting of three things, 1 Putting off infirmities. 2 Glorification of the humane nature. 3 Triumph over enemies.

Putting off infirmities, was when Chriſt was delivered from all weakneſſe of body and mind, which for our ſakes hee tooke upon him, as death, paine, hunger, thirſt, ſorrow, *Rom.*6.9. 1 *Cor.*15.42,43.

Glorification of the humane nature, is its perfection, by aſſuming new habits, and powers, *Joh.*7.39.

Chriſts body was glorified, in that it was made incorruptible, 1 *Cor.*15.33. firme, ſtrong, nimble, ſpirituall, ſplendent, 1 *Cor.* 15.43. *Mat.*17.2,3. His ſoule was glorified by the perfection of the underſtanding, ſuch as in his baſe eſtate hee knew not, even all things in all places and times, ſo farre forth as a created mind is capable of, and by perfection of will, and all vertues that a created will is capable of.

Triumph over enemies, was his reſurrection, and manifeſtation after, *Pſal.* 68.1. This ariſing againe was the reſtoring of the humane nature unto life, and the glorious, and powerfull lifting of it out of the grave.

As by Chriſts ſufferings and death hee wrought ſatisfaction, and juſtice for his elect, ſo by his reſurrection (as the principall cauſe) hee conferreth the effectuall application of juſtice and ſatisfaction. The Rom.4.25.

efficient

efficient cauſe of Chriſts reſurrection was God the Father, *Act.* 2.24. the Sonne, *Joh.* 17.18. the Holy Ghoſt, *Rom.*18.11. The end of his riſing is the glory of God the Father, *Rom.* 6.4. of the Sonne, *Act.* 3. 15. to fulfill propheſies and figures, 1 *Cor.* 15. 4. to confirme the legall covenants, Do this and live: to juſtifie us by applying benefits, *Rom.* 4.25.

The benefits and fruits wee have by his reſurrection are theſe: 1 A full aſſurance and certainty of faith touching him. 2 Full ſatisfaction for us, as our ſurety, and our applied juſtification, *Rom.*4.25. and 8.34. 4 The gift of the Holy Ghoſt, to quicken us from ſinne, *Rom.*6.4. *Eph.* 2. 5. 5 Aſſurance of our laſt reſurrection, 1 *Cor.*15.12,20, 22. 1 *Theſſ.* 4. 14. 6 Certainty of our perſeverance in faith, *Rom.*6.9. *Gal.*2.20. 7 Confidence of our hope, and eternall life, *Col.*1.18. *Rom.* 8. 17. & 5. 10. 1 *Pet.* 3. 20, 21. Rom.1.4. Act 23.32,33.

The forme and manner of Chriſts reſurrection, was, firſt his ſoule returned to the body: ſecondly, the time was the third day: thirdly, the earth trembled for joy, as for horrour at his death. As hee died the ſixth, wherein *Adam* was made and fell: ſo hee roſe the firſt day, wherein the world began to be created. he roſe in the dawning, *Mat.*28.1,2. ſo he was the Sun, and light of the world. As the Angels ſerved him at his birth, *Luk.*2. ſo did they at his reſurrection; Chriſt was the firſt that ſhould riſe from the dead, *Act.*26.23. 1 *Cor.*15. Gen.1.31. Mat.28.1,2. Gen. 1.1,2,3. Mar.28.9.

Object. But ſome roſe before him, raiſed by the Prophets.

Anſw. Their reſurrection was actuall, and imperfect, for they died againe afterward, but Chriſts was perfect, never dying more, nor ſubject to mortality, *Act.*13.34.

The manifeſtation of his reſurrection, was his glorious appearing to his Diſciples forty dayes, to confirme

firme their faith, and teaching them things pertaining to the Kingdome of God, *Act.*2.3.

Testimonies of his resurrection were, 1 Angels, *Mat.*28.3,4. *Luk.*24. 2 The watchmen, *Mat.*28.4,11. 3 His Disciples, to whom hee appeared oftentimes, as to *Mary Magdalen* at the grave, *Mat.* 28. 9. To *Simon Peter*; to two Disciples, in the way to *Emaus*, *Luk.*24. 13. To the company of Disciples, *Joh.*20.19. To *Thomas*, *Joh.*20.26. To his Disciples at the sea of *Tiberias*, *Joh.*22.1. To *James*, 1 *Cor.*15.7. To his Disciples on the mount at *Galile*, *Mat.*28. 16. To more than 500. brethren at once, 1 *Cor.* 15. 6. To his Disciples on mount *Olivet*, when hee ascended into Heaven. Another testimony was the bodies of the Saints which arose: and propheſies of the Scripture, *Luk.*24.25,26. *Mat.*27 52,53.

Luk.24.34. 1 Cor.15.5.

Act.1.4.12. Luk.24.50.

Christs taking of his Kingdome, was: 1 By ascending into heaven. 2 By sitting at Gods right hand, *Dan.*7.13,14. Christ in his naturall body glorified, went up in a cloud through the aire, or orbes into the imperiall heavens: by his ascension he also made way for us, and is an assurance that we also shall come thither, *Heb.* 10.19. *Joh.*14.3. Also by his ascension, hee furnisheth his Church with gifts of the Holy Ghost, *Joh.*7. 39.

Act 1.9,10.

Joh.18.7. Eph.4.8.

Christs sitting at his Fathers right hand meaneth a dignity next unto the power of God, and is the highest degree of exaltation: whereby hee fully occupieth his kingdome, gotten by his battell, by repressing his enemies, and conserving his Church, *Psal.*101. 1 *Cor.* 15. 1. This sitting at Gods right hand, in respect of Christs Godhead, was the restauration of the glory which hee had with the Father before the world was: in respect of the manhood, it is the glorification of him, with the glory he never had before, above all other creatures.

Joh.17.5.

Christs

Chriſts Kingdome may be conſidered abſolutely, or ſpecially.

His abſolute Kingdome, is the rule which he hath over all creatures, whether they obey or not, and it may be called the Kingdome of power, 1 *Pet.*3. 22. Mat.28.18.

His ſpeciall Kingdome, is his rule over the Church, which may be called the Kingdome of Grace. The nature of this Kingdome is ſpirituall, not of this World; the limits of this Kingdome are the ends of the earth, *Pſal.* 2. Pſal.2 6. Heb. 12.28. Eſay 18.36. Luk.17.21.

Adminiſtration of Chriſts Kingdome is, 1 His giving lawes: 2 By executing them.

His giving of Lawes are, outward, or inward.

Outward, propounded by the Word, and Miniſtry. Luk.24.45.

Inward, by the Spirit, opening the conſcience, and giving power to do them, *Act.*1.3. Eph 4.14.

Executing Lawes is, by rewarding good deeds, and puniſhing evill. Rewards are, 1 Spirituall: 2 Temporall.

Spirituall, are, remiſſion of ſinnes, victories over temptations, juſtification, ſanctification.

Temporall, are the things of this life with the condition of the Croſſe; in the next life joyes of Heaven, *Matt.*25.

Puniſhments are, inward, and outward: Inward are griefes, feares, and torments of conſcience; Outward, are paines, ſickneſſes, diſeaſes, and in the next life damnation. The courſe of adminiſtration in all ages, are the opening of the ſeales, ſounding of the trumpets, ſhedding of the vials, diſcovery of Antichriſt. The great and laſt worke of his Kingdome, is the laſt Judgement; the day as hee knew not on earth, ſo neither wee: the manner will be glorious with innumerable companies of Angels, and flaming fire. The reſurrection of the juſt, and unjuſt, the change of the living, the ſeparating the good, and evill by the Apoc. 6. 2 Theſ.1.7.8.

Angels,

Angels, the pronouncing of the ſentence of mercy to the elect, and of judgement to the wicked: in the end
Mat. 25. the delivering up of the Kingdome to his Father, that God may be all in all, 1 *Cor.* 15.24. Hitherto of Chriſts perſon and office, next followeth the object, the people upon whom Chriſt exerciſeth his office, whom hee teacheth as a Prophet, redeemeth as a Prieſt, and ruleth as a King.

The Church. This people are called his Church, or Congregation, *Eph.* 5.25,26,27.

Object. But Chriſt is the propitiation for the ſins of the whole world, for all men, 1 *Cor.* 5.15.

1 Joh. 2.2. *Anſ.* By the *World* are meant the elect of all ages, & not the Jewes onely, or them that then lived, but the Gentiles alſo. So, *all men*, are meant, all the elect, 1 *Pet.* 1.2. & 2.5, 9, 24. *Heb.* 2.9. 1 *Theſ.* 2.13. *Mat.* 24.24. compared with *Jud.* 4.

Object. In *Rom.* 5.18. it is ſaid, The offence of one man came on all men to condemnation, ſo the juſtifying of one is toward all men to juſtification of life.

Anſw. The Apoſtle maketh *Adam* a type of Chriſt, that as all that came of *Adam* have ſin, & death by generation, ſo all that came of Chriſt ſhall have righteouſneſſe, and life through him. *Adam* communicateth his ſinne to none, but ſuch as are borne of him: ſo Chriſt communicateth his juſtice to none, but ſuch as are borne of him.

Object. In 2 *Pet.* 2.1. mention is made of ſome bringing in damnable hereſies, even denying the Lord that bought them; and *Rom.* 14.15. the Apoſtle ſaith, Deſtroy not him with thy meate, for whom Chriſt died: ſo 1 *Cor.* 8.11. therefore Chriſt dyed for them that periſh.

Anſw. All profeſſing faith in Chriſt, profeſſe to be redeemed by him, and ſo are to be hoped for of us in charity, untill the contrary appeare; in this reſpect are they

they ſaid to be bought, and not abſolutely.

Object. Adam was redeemed, *Gen.* 3. and in him all mankind, therefore in his loynes all men are redeemed.

Anſw. As *Adams* houſe was the viſible Church, imbracing the promiſes, ſo were they and theirs viſibly redeemed in the judgement of men, till the contrary appeared by their ſin, as it did in *Cain* and his, but as in the Church many are called, and few elected, ſo then in *Adams* poſterity it ſoone appeared, *Gen.* 4. and afterward in *Noahs* ſeed, *Gen.* 9. 10. but juſtice and ſinne are not alike propagated by *Adam*, for all borne of him are partakers of ſinne by imputation, and have it inherent in them, but all borne of him are not partakers of his faith, and Chriſtian ſanctity, which is not propagated carnally, but by the Spirit of Chriſt, *Joh.* 1.

Mat. 22. 14.

Pſal. 51.

The truth hereof is laid downe thus:

Chriſt ſaved his people from their ſins, *Mat.* 1. 21. *Joh.* 10. 15. *Heb.* 9. 15. & 10. 14. hee prayed for them and not for the world, *Joh.* 17. 9. Now if Chriſt ready to die prayed not for the world, but for them which his Father had given him out of the world, then the world is not by him redeemed, that is, the reprobates of the world.

Chriſt is the Mediator of the New Teſtament, which is, that God would put his Law in their mindes, and be their God, *Heb.* 9. 10. But ſuch is not the ſtate of many wicked, 2 *Theſ.* 5. 2. All men have not faith, but the Elect, and they beleeved that Word ordained to life, *Act.* 13. 4. 8. and others beleeve not, becauſe they are none of Chriſts ſheepe, *Joh.* 10. 26.

Heb. 9. 15.

Tit. 1. 1.

Chriſt ſaith, My ſheepe heare my voyce, and I know them, and they follow mee: but all heare not Chriſts voyce, nor follow him; *Ergo*, he is not a propitiation for the ſinnes of all men in generall, but for the elect

Joh. 10. 27, 28.

in all places and times, which the Apoſtle meaneth.

Church. The word *Church*, is uſed ſometimes more largely, for ſuch an Aſſembly as profeſſe Chriſt the King, Prieſt, and Prophet; which comprehendeth in it hypocrites, and reprobates, as well as Gods elect: in which reſpect *Paul* ſaith of the Church of Iſrael; All our fathers were under the cloud, all paſſed through the ſea, were all baptized unto *Moſes*, did all drinke of the ſame ſpirituall rocke, but with ſome of them God was not pleaſed, 1 *Cor.* 10.1,2,3.

Hypocrites, or reprobates in the Church, are not properly of the Church, but by homonymie of ſpeech, as in the 1 *Joh.*2. 19.

Strictly, and properly, the Church is the company of them whom the Father hath choſen to life, given to the Sonne to redeeme, ſanctifying them by the Spirit, and uniting them together among themſelves, by the bond of faith and love.

Eph. 5.25. Joh.17.2.

The Church is conſidered generally, and particularly: generally, as it comprehendeth all Gods family in heaven and earth, *Eph.* 3. 15. and brotherhood of all Chriſtians, 1 *Pet.* 5. 9. commonly called the Catholicke Church.

Particularly, when companies of Chriſtians are united, and compact together, in particular places, townes, or cities, as *Rom.* 1. 1 *Cor.*1. *Rev.* 2. & 3.chap.

Hitherto I have ſpoken of two meanes of our ſalvation, and remedies of our miſeries, namely of election and redemption. Now followeth the third, which is our Juſtification, being the abſolution of ſinfull man from puniſhment, becauſe of the ſatisfaction of Chriſt the Redeemer, apprehended by faith.

Juſtification.

This word *Juſtification* is uſed here for Abſolution judiciall, when God the Judge abſolveth the fault of the man, that is accuſed before him, and pronounceth him juſt and innocent; and it is oppoſed to condemnation,

tion, as *Rom.* 8.33,34. Wee may not with the Papiſts underſtand here Juſtification to be the infuſion of juſtice. Rom. 5.18.

This judiciall act is in this life exerciſed in a mans conſcience, wherein God hath his tribunall, mens thoughts accuſing or excuſing, *Rom.* 2.15. After this life, it ſhall be exerciſed by the ſentence of Chriſt, *Rom.* 2.16. As ſinne is a difference from Gods Law, ſo juſtice is a congruence with the Law, both of our nature and actions: and as there is a legall juſtice inherent in men, by fulfilling the Law, and an Evangeſicall juſtice, by God imputed to him that beleeveth the Evangell, *Rom.* 4.5,6. ſo is there alſo a legall juſtification, and an Evangelicall: Legall juſtification, is from workes done, according to Gods Law, we ſtand in the tryall of the juſtice of God, *Levit.* 18.5. *Gal.* 3.12. 1 Joh. 3.4. Phil. 3.9.

Evangelicall juſtification is when Gods Law being violated, we are abſolved from the ſinne and puniſhment by the grace of God, and mercy of his Sonne apprehended by faith: And by him all that beleeve are juſtified, in all things in which they could not be juſtified by the Law of *Moſes*, *Act.* 13.

Before the fall legall juſtice had place, and ſhall have againe in the life to come: but ſince the fall in this life the Evangelicall juſtice is to be ſought for. The reaſon hereof is, that juſtification by the Law muſt be upon the full, perfect, & continuall keeping of the ſame, *Gal.* 3.10. which is unpoſſible by mans weakneſſe, *Rom.* 8.3. Rom. 4.5. Gal. 3.10. 12.

The Law of God being violated by ſinne, his juſtice muſt be ſatisfied firſt, before any legall juſtice can be eſtabliſhed in us, which being ſatisfied by Chriſt, and ſo wee abſolved from our ſinnes paſt, the legall juſtice beginneth in us againe in this life, but ſhall not be perfected till the next life. Pſal. 14. Rom. 3.24. & 5 chap.

Juſtification is an act undivided, and all at

once, and ſo it differeth from Sanctification which is done by degrees and parts.

Juſtification of a ſinner in this life is done eſſentially but once, though it be often repaired and renued,
1 Joh. 3. 9. as faith once given to the elect, is never quite taken away, for the ſeede of God remaineth in him; Juſtification and Faith are moſt nearly united.

The cauſes of Juſtification are either { Principall: { Outward, / Inſtrumentall: { Inward.

The principall outward cauſe, is the merit, and ſatisfaction of Chriſt, *Rom.* 3. 24, 25. which in reſpect of us is the meritorious cauſe, in reſpect of God it is the cauſe that is outwardly moving him to pronounce
Rom. 3. 24. us juſt.

Both theſe are true, that we are juſtified for the ſatisfaction and merit of Chriſt, as the outward moving cauſe, and yet are juſtified freely of meere mercy, as the inward moving cauſe.

Object. How can it be ſaid that God freely forgiveth us our ſinnes, out of his owne grace, and mercy freely, ſeeing hee hath required ſatisfaction to the full of Chriſt our head, and ſurety, and without ſuch ſatisfaction forgiveth no ſinne?

Anſw. Though hee forgive it not freely in reſpect of
Col. 2. 13. his Sonne, who was wounded for our iniquities, yet in reſpect of us that were the ſinners, it is free.

Object. But wee merited it in Chriſt our head, and therefore are not freely forgiven.

Anſw. His merit was not ours by originall poſſeſſi-
1 Cor. 2. 9. on, or cleaving in us (as ſinne is from *Adam*) but only by relation and application, and this meere grace, that wee never thinking on any ſuch thing, God found this way for our redemption, *Rom.* 5. 8, 10. and that he applyeth his Sonnes redemption unto us, that were by no gift or merit diſpoſed to ſuch a thing, *Eph.* 1, 6, 9. & 2. 8.

As

As Christs satisfaction is most sufficient and full, so as it is sufficiently, and fully to justifie us, without any merit of ours, or any other creatures, *Rom.* 3.25, 26. Our workes being imperfect have no proportion to the justice of God, neither are they ours, but Gods, due unto him, and proceeding from him: now that which is not ours originally, or by possession, but is wholly owing unto another, by it we can merit nothing to our selves. 1 Joh. 1.7.

The principall inward cause of our justification is both, 1 an effectuall calling, 2 the imputation of Christs merits.

The effectuall calling is the more remote cause of our justification, when God by his Spirit effectually moveth the heart, the understanding, will, and affections, to the acknowledgement of our owne miseries, to seeke deliverance, and to beleeve the promise, or grace.

This inward calling of the elect, differeth from outward calling, by the word, whereby God offereth his grace to all in generall. to this inward calling a man is meerly passive, in respect of the beginning, that is, hee cannot any more prepare, or dispose himselfe by strength of nature unto this calling, or justification. Herein therefore the Papists erre, who ascribe to man a preparation to justification, called the fundation of justification, as faith, that is, a certaine generall knowledge, and certainty of the truth of Gods Word: Secondly, an acknowledgement of our sinnes. Thirdly, feare of hell: Fourthly, love of God: Fifthly, repentauce. Sixthly, hope of salvation, which sufficiently prepare a man (they say) to receive justification, but the Apostle saith the contrary, that our sufficiencie is of God. Eph. 2.1. 2 Cor. 3.5. Phil. 2.13.

The imputation of Christs merit, & satisfaction, is the neere and next cause of justification, and constitu- Rom. 8. 10.

teth the essence and definition of it, which is, when God for union with Christ, doth so apply and make
2 Cor.5.14 21. Rom.4.5,8. proper Christs merit to us, as if wee our selves had died, and satisfied for our sinnes: As from *Adam* wee draw, 1 guilt, 2 native evill: so from Christ we draw, 1 absolution from guilt, 2 reparation of Gods Image, called Regeneration.

Faith. The instrumentall cause of justification is Faith, which is taken sometime largely, sometime strictly: largely, faith is taken for an assent to those things written in the Word, called historicall faith: strictly, faith is justifying, or miraculous; justifying faith,
Jam.2. is a trustfull assurance, which the Spirit of God stir-
Rom.10 6,10. Gal.2.20. reth up in the elect, firmly to apply the promises of Gods grace. This faith presupposeth knowledge,
Rom.10.20. *Rom.*10.14. but formally it is assertion towards Gods promise.

Faith justifieth not, as it is a quality, passion, or action in us, but as it is a relation, and uniteth us to Christ, whose satisfaction is imputed for righteousnesse to us, *Gal.*2.20.

Jam.2.20. Faith applyeth the promise to the particular person, and not the generall onely: *Gal.* 2.20. 1 *Joh.* 4.16.

Faith necessarily bringeth forth good workes, yet it justifieth not in that respect, *Rom.*4.5.

The proper object of faith, is the evangelicall promise of grace in Christ, *Rom.*1.16.

Faith hath degrees, increasing, and diminishing, yet the essence and force of justifying remaineth in the least degree, *Rom.*12.3. *Mark.* 9.24.

Faith once wrought in the elect, can never be utterly extinguished, for faith is of the elect onely,
Tit.1.1. 2 *Thess.*3.2. as the elect cannot perish, neither can their faith, *Rom.*8.38,39.

The immediate effect of justification knowne, is Adoption,

Adoption, by which the elect do now actually please God, as his children and co-heires with Christ. Gal. 3. 18.

Another effect of justification, is peace of Conscience, when we perceive our selves absolved from the guilt of sinne, before Gods judgement, and the judgement of our owne conscience, *Rom.* 5. 1.

Peace of conscience, hath degrees sometimes more, sometimes lesse, *Psal.* 30.7. and 51.12. and 38.3. From peace of conscience ariseth confidence, that our prayers are heard: Also assurance that our good workes please God; also patient suffering of the crosse, ariseth from the feeling of justification, *Rom.* 5. 3. *Peace of conscience.* Rom 8. 15.

Thus much of our deliverance from sinne, and the misery thereof, also the punishment of sinne, which was Christs worke in himselfe.

Now followeth our Sanctification or, reformation into the image of God, which is Christs worke in us; it is the change of our nature into better, that is, into the similitude of the perfection of God, called also our Glorification, 2 *Cor.* 3. 18. *Sanctification.*

Justification, and Sanctification differ thus: Justification, is the imputing of anothers justice; (to wit Christs) Sanctification is the impression of justice; that it may be in us: in Justification there is the satisfaction of Christ; in Sanctification there is the obedience of a Christian: Justice is perfect and absolute, an undivided act at once; Sanctification is a work begun, not equall in all: Justification is first, Sanctification is after; Sanctification: is a separation from filthinesse of sin, from common prophane use, and a preparation, and application to holy use, by the Spirit of God, 2 *Cor.* 7. 1. Rom. 8. 30. Joh. 3. 5. Rom. 6. 29.

Absolution from sinne is not sufficient to salvation, unlesse there be also a restoring, or putting on of good, called Sanctification, *Heb.* 12. 14. As Election is the peculiar worke of the Father, *Eph.* 1. 3, 4. Redemption *Absolution.*

of

of the Sonne, 1 *Joh.*2.1,2. ſo Sanctification is the proper worke of the Holy Ghoſt, 1 *Cor.*6.11.

Rom. 15.16.

Chriſt by his obedience, and death hath merited for us the gift of ſanctification of the Spirit, 1 *Cor.*1.30. This he hath merited with God, who for his Sonnes ſake giveth us the Spirit, *Gal.*4.6.

Our Sanctification hath two parts, 1 the putting off the old, which is corrupt, through the deceiveable luſt: 2 the putting on the new man, which is after God, created in righteouſneſſe, and true holineſſe.

Eph. 4.22.

Eph.4.24.

The putting off the old man, is the ſubduing, breaking, and aboliſhing of the ſinfull diſpoſition, and inclination that is in our nature, 1 *Pet.* 4.5. and of it there be two parts, 1 Death: 2 Buriall of the old man.

Death or mortification, is an actuall effect of the application of Chriſts death, by the holy Ghoſt (to our nature) whereby our corruption, or body of ſin, receiveth a deadly wound, is feebled, and dyeth daily.

Rom.6.6.

Buriall, is the going forward of death, and is an effect of the application of Chriſts buriall by the Spirit, whereby the old man, our body of ſinne, is more and more corrupted, and as it were rotted in the grave, *Rom.* 6. 4.

Putting on the new man, is when wee take againe Godſ habits, and diſpoſition to vertue, and it is called the riſing or the quickning of the new man, which is an effect of the application by the Spirit of Chriſts reſurrection, whereby inherent holineſſe is begunne, and by degrees continually increaſed, *Rom.*6.4. Thus Chriſts death, buriall, and reſurrection, is to us, 1 A gift of juſtification, *Rom.*5.15.18. 2 A power to mortifie, and quicken us, *Eph.*1.19,20. and 2. 1, 5, 6. And an example or type to follow in our courſe of life, 1 *Pet.* 2. 21.

1 Theſ. 1.6.

The

The subject, or person sanctified, is the justified man. Rom. 8. 30.

The justified person is to be sanctified throughout: particluarly, wee are to be sanctified in, 1 The understanding. 2 The will. 3 The affections. 4 The actions. 1 Thes. 5. 23.

The understanding is regenerate three wayes: 1 By teaching and illuminating the mind with necessary knowledge. 2 By perswading the truth of Gods favour to the beleever, *Joh.* 14.17. *Rom.* 5.5. 3 By confirming us in the hope of perseverance, and eternall life, 2 *Cor.* 1. 22. and 5.5. Zach. 12 10.

The will is sanctified by making it right, and ready: Right, when the will is inclined, and carried in a straight course to that which is good, rightly knowne. Ready, when there is a power and faculty to follow, and do the good apprehended, and flee the evill, *Rom.* 7. 18.22. 1 *Chron.* 29.9.

The affections are sanctified, when our desires of meats, drinkes, and other things, that wee lust after, are moderated, according to Gods Law, and reason, *Rom.* 13.13. And when our affections of joy, sorrow, love, hatred, anger, are so tempered, according to Gods Law, and good reason, as wee avoyd all extremities of too much, and too little, and keepe the holy meane, *Psal.* 13.9. *Psal.* 119. Eph. 4.26.

This sanctification is, 1 begun: 2 perfected.

Begun in this life. 1 Cor. 6.11.

Alwaies in this life there is a mixture of the old man with the new, an inclination to evill by nature, an inclination to good by grace, the flesh and spirit are contrary one to another, so that wee cannot do these things that we would. Gal. 6.17.

Seing there is this contrariety in us, wee must resist and fight against sinne continually, in which there must be, 1 A preparation. 2 A conflict.

The preparation is, by taking the whole armour of God, as the shield of faith, the sword of the spirit, *Eph.* 6.13,14.

of the Sonne, 1 *Joh.*2.1,2. ſo Sanctification is the pro-
Rom. 15.16. per worke of the Holy Ghoſt, 1 *Cor.*6.11.

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The

The ſubject, or perſon ſanctified, is the juſtified man. Rom. 8. 30.

The juſtified perſon is to be ſanctified throughout: particluarly, wee are to be ſanctified in, 1 The underſtanding. 2 The will. 3 The affections. 4 The actions. 1 Theſ. 5. 23.

The underſtanding is regenerate three wayes: 1 By teaching, and illuminating the mind with neceſſary knowledge. 2 By perſwading the truth of Gods favour to the beleever, *Joh.* 14.17. *Rom.* 5.5. 3 By confirming us in the hope of perſeverance, and eternall life, 2 *Cor.* 1. 22. and 5.5. Zach. 12 10.

The will is ſanctified by making it right, and ready: Right, when the will is inclined, and carried in a ſtraight courſe to that which is good, rightly knowne. Ready, when there is a power and faculty to follow, and do the good apprehended, and flee the evill, *Rom.* 7. 18.22. 1 *Chron.* 29.9.

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This ſanctification is, 1 begun: 2 perfected.

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Alwaies in this life there is a mixture of the old man with the new, an inclination to evill by nature, an inclination to good by grace, the fleſh and ſpirit are contrary one to another, ſo that wee cannot do theſe things that we would. Gal. 6. 17.

Seing there is this contrariety in us, wee muſt reſiſt and fight againſt ſinne continually; in which there muſt be, 1 A preparation. 2 A conflict.

The preparation is, by taking the whole armour of God, as the ſhield of faith, the ſword of the ſpirit, *Eph.* 6. 13, 14.

The conflict is the resisting of sinfull temptations, arising in us, or suggested any way to us; and the victory is, when wee so resist, as sinne ruleth not in us, *Rom.*6.14.

1 Joh.2.1. The infirmities, and defects of our sanctification, are forgiven us in Christ.

Sanctification hath many degrees, sometime more, sometime lesse, *Rev.* 2, & 3. The children of God have some speciall sinne, or sinnes whereunto they are most prone, which they must have most speciall Psal.18.23. care to mortifie.

Jam.2.10. Any one sinne reigning in a man, argueth him to be wicked, and unsanctified, *Ezek.* 18.10, 11.

The effect of regeneration or sanctification, is good workes, namely, acts and operations, proceeding from a regenerate will, understanding and affections.

In good workes are to be considered, 1 The rule. 2 The partition of them.

Exod.19.20. The rule of good workes is Gods Law, comprehended in the ten Commandements, which God gave by voyce, and by writing on 2. Tables of stone at mount *Sinay*.

Commandements.

1 *Table.* The 1 Table containeth foure Commandements, informing us of our duties, and good workes towards God.

The first commandement chargeth us not to be Atheists, without God, *Psal.*14.1. Secondly, not to have false gods with the true, *Exod.*20.23. 1 *Cor.*10.20. Thirdly, not to have false gods without the true, 2 *King.*17.25. Fourthly, not to have the true God neare in thy mouth, and farre from thy heart, *Esay* Exod.5.2. 29.13. *Tit.* 1.16. but requireth us to have Jehovah the true God, and him onely and sincerely to be our God, *Deut.*4.35.

The second Commandement forbiddeth us to

make (in Gods worship) any shape, image, representation or ordinance, whereby to worship God, or to bow downe, or to submit to any such, made by any other, *Act.* 17. 29. *Mat.* 15. 9. *Col.* 2. 23. and commandeth us to worship the true God truly, according to his owne prescription. Deut. 12, 32.

The third Commandement forbiddeth all profanation, and abuse of Gods Name, Word, & Ordinances, and requireth a reverent and holy use, and estimation of those meanes, and instruments, whereby God hath made knowne himselfe unto us, and requireth to be worshipped of us, *Deut.* 19. 12. & 23. 21, and 18. 20. *Lev.* 19. 12. & 24. 11. Eccles. 4. 17. & 5. 1. Mat. 6.

The fourth Commandement requireth the observation of the due time of Gods publique worship, and of all holy means, whereby we may grow in grace, knowledge, and sanctification, *Act.* 15. 21. & 16. 13. & 17. 2, 3. Lev. 23. 3. Luk. 4. 16. Esay 56. 2. & 58. 13.

The second Table containeth sixe Commandements, all teaching love and duty to our neighbour. 2 *Table.*

The first requireth speciall duties to our parents, governours, and all superiours, that we honour them.

The second concerneth our neighbours life, and good: *Thou shalt not kill.*

The third concerneth his chastity, as our owne: *Thou shalt not commit adultery.*

The fourth concerneth our neighbours goods: that wee steale not.

The fifth concerneth his good name, that we beare not false witnesse, but speake the truth.

The sixth forbiddeth all lust, or desire to any thing that is our neighbours, and requireth us to be contented with our owne: *Thou shalt not covet.*

The summe of these Commandements is, to call men from all naturall corruption, or vice, unto the true God, having him in an unfained love above

The conflict is the reſiſting of ſinfull temptations, ariſing in us, or ſuggeſted any way to us; and the victory is, when wee ſo reſiſt, as ſinne ruleth not in us, *Rom.*6.14.

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make (in Gods worſhip) any ſhape, image, repreſentation or ordinance, whereby to worſhip God, or to bow downe, or to ſubmit to any ſuch, made by any other, *Act.* 17. 29. *Mat.* 15. 9. *Col.* 2. 23. and commandeth us to worſhip the true God truly, according to his owne preſcription. Deut. 12, 32.

The third Commandement forbiddeth all profanation, and abuſe of Gods Name, Word, & Ordinances, and requireth a reverent and holy uſe, and eſtimation of thoſe meanes, and inſtruments, whereby God hath made knowne himſelfe unto us, and requireth to be worſhipped of us, *Deut.* 19. 12. & 23. 21. and 18. 20. *Lev.* 19. 12. & 24. 11. Eccleſ. 4. 17. & 5. 1. Mat. 6.

The fourth Commandement requireth the obſervation of the due time of Gods publique worſhip, and of all holy means, whereby we may grow in grace, knowledge, and ſanctification, *Act.* 15. 21. & 16. 13. & 17. 2, 3. Lev. 23. 3. Luk. 4. 16. Eſay 56. 2. & 58. 13.

The ſecond Table containeth ſixe Commandements, all teaching love and duty to our neighbour. *2 Table.*

The firſt requireth ſpeciall duties to our parents, governours, and all ſuperiours, that we honour them.

The ſecond concerneth our neighbours life, and good: *Thou ſhalt not kill.*

The third concerneth his chaſtity, as our owne: *Thou ſhalt not commit adultery.*

The fourth concerneth our neighbours goods: that wee ſteale not.

The fifth concerneth his good name, that we beare not falſe witneſſe, but ſpeake the truth.

The ſixth forbiddeth all luſt, or deſire to any thing that is our neighbours, and requireth us to be contented with our owne: *Thou ſhalt not covet.*

The ſumme of theſe Commandements is, to call men from all naturall corruption, or vice, unto the true God, having him in an unfained love above

above all, and our neighbour as our ſelves.

Rules touching Gods Law.

Touching the Law of God, theſe rules are to be conſidered.

As the Law was given by God, who is moſt perfect, ſo in the keeping of it is required abſolute perfection, *Pſal.*19. *Jam.* 2.10. *Gen.* 6.4, 5. This perfection is inward, and outward.

Inward, in the Image of God, expreſſed in the underſtanding, will, and appetite of man.

1 Tim. 1.5. Outward, in the intire effect of this image ſhewed in operation, *Rom.*7.14. *Eſay* 2.10.

Unregenerate men are utterly unable to keepe the Law, the regenerate are able to keepe it in part, but but not fully in this life, *Gen.*8.22. *Pſal.*14. *Eph.*2.1. *Rom.*7.22,23. 1 *Joh.* 1.8,10.

Seeing the Law cannot be by us perfectly fulfilled, wee may not ſeeke for juſtification by the workes of the ſame, *Gal.*2.16. & 3.10,13. *Pſal.* 3 9.

Pſal. 143. 3.

The common uſe which all men have of the Law, is to bind them to perfect obedience unto God, though they cannot performe it, and to rule their outward actions, and inward motions, that confuſion be not amongſt men, *Lev.* 18.5.

The ſpeciall uſe which the regenerate hath of the Law, is, 1 That they may know ſin, *Ro.*3.20. 2 That it might move them to repentance, *Ro.*7.23,24. 3 That it might move them to deſire mercy in Chriſt, *Gal.*3.24. 4 That it may direct their motions, words, & works, which by the ſanctification of the ſpirit they walk in.

Rom. 7.7.

Jam 2.12.

The ſpeciall uſe which the unregenerate hath of the Law, is, 1 To torment their conſcience. 2 To reſtraine them from outragious ſinnes.

1 Joh. 5.3. Pſal. 37.30,31.

The partition of good workes, whereof the Law is a rule, is that ſome are referred unto God, ſome to our ſelves, ſome to our neighbours.

Of Prayer.

There appertaineth to the worſhip and ſervice of God

God for his perfection, wiſedome, power, and goodneſſe, the invocation, and celebration of his name.

Invocation or Prayer, is the lifting up of our minds unto God, as to a moſt bountifull and good doer, *Pſal.* 25.1. It is alſo a powring out of the hearts meditation before God, *Pſal.* 62. 8.

In prayer note five eſſentiall things.

1 Who is to pray. 2 To whom wee muſt pray, 3 What things are to be asked. 4 For whom we muſt pray. 5 How wee muſt pray.

1 The Commandement to pray, is given to Chriſts Diſciples: hypocrites and infidels ſometime ſo pray, as that God heareth them, 2 *King.* 13. 2, 4. 1 *King.* 21. 27, 28. yet Gods people only effectually receive the Commandement, and pray in faith, that is farre from the wicked, but he heareth the prayer of the righteous. Mat. 6. Luk. 11. Prov. 15. 8, 29.

2 Prayer is to be made to God onely; *Mat.* 6. Say, *Our Father.* *Pſal.* 65. 2. *Pſal.* 50. 15.

Prayer is to be made holily, according to Gods will, and the directions by him given. 1 Joh. 5. 14.

Prayer muſt be made with preparation, and meditation, *Pſal.* 10. 17. *Eccleſ.* 5. 1. The preface in the form of prayer teacheth thus much, *Mat.* 6.

There muſt be a feeling of our wants, and a fervent deſire of the thing wee would have, *Jam.* 1. 5. The name of prayer, ſupplication, or deſire teacheth this. Pſal. 51. 17.

Prayer muſt be in faith, and confidence, as to a Father, that is willing, and in hearing able, *Jam.* 1. 6. Joh. 16. 23. It muſt be in humility as beggers, *Heb.* 11. 6. for God is in heaven, *Eccleſ.* 5. 1. our kneeling and proſtrating our ſelves ſheweth this. It muſt be in the name of our Mediator. It muſt be in few words: Babble not much, *Eccleſ.* 5. *Mat.* 6. No certaine words are limited, 1 *Tim.* 2. 8. 1 *Theſſ.* 5. 17. In prayer wee muſt be carefull to purge our ſelves by faith, and repentance, that ſinne be not in us before the Lord, *Pſal.* 68. 16. 1 Tim. 2. 8.

Wee are to pray for others, and not onely for our ſelves: *Mat. 6. Say, Our Father.*

The things to be prayed for are taught by Chriſt, in *Mat. 6. & Luk. 11.* whereof there are two parts, 1 Petitions. 2 Confeſſion or bleſſing. 1 Petitions, there are 6, whereof the firſt concerneth the principall end of our life and beeing, which is Gods glory, *Hallowed be thy Name.*

The ſecond concerneth the ſecondary, and ſubordinate end of our life, which is our ſalvation; *Thy Kingdome come.*

The third concerneth the principall meanes to bring us to the foreſaid ends, which is godlineſſe wrought in us here on earth; *Thy will be done.*

The fourth concerneth the ſecondary meanes, to bring us to the aforeſaid ends, which are the outward bleſſings of this life: *Our daily bread.*

The fifth concerneth the removall of ſuch lets paſt, as may hinder us from attaining the foreſaid ends, which are our ſinnes committed: *Forgive us our debts.*

The ſixth concerneth the removall of ſuch lets to come, as may hinder us, which are our future ſinnes and relapſe; *Lead us not into tempration, but deliver us from evill.*

Confeſſion, bleſſing, or thankſgiving, is for three things belonging unto God.

1 Kingdome: whereby we acknowledge his Kingly, or Fatherly right, dominion or authority, over us for ever.

2 Power: whereby wee celebrate his might, and ability to doe all that he will for ever.

3 Glory: whereby wee magnifie this moſt wiſe, juſt, and mercifull adminiſtration of all things, according to his ſoveraignty and might, for which hee is to be celebrated for ever.

Amen,

Amen, teacheth us firſt, fervently to deſire the things aforeſaid: ſecondly, to beleeve they ſhall be accompliſhed.

Hitherto of Invocation, now followeth celebration of Gods name, which is when wee confeſſe our Lord God his properties, and workes. This done two wayes, by Speech, by Song.

By ſpeech, when rehearſall is made to others, to ſtrangers, and to our children, of Gods powerfull and gratious workes. Exod. 18. 8. 10.

Of Singing.

By ſongs, when to our ſelves, or others, wee celebrate Gods workes, by Pſalmes, and Hymnes, and ſpirituall ſongs, *Exod.* 15. 1.

Songs are of two ſorts; ſuggeſted to the mind by the ſpirit and mouth of man, or preſcribed by God in his word, 1 *Cor.* 14. 26. 2 Chro. 29. 30.

Songs of holy Scripture are to be ſung in the Church; firſt, becauſe God hath given his Word partly in proſe to be read, partly in meter to be ſung, *Col.* 3. 16. 2 *Sam.* 23. 1, 2.

Songs miniſtred by the ſpirit, are to be ſung by one, 1 *Cor.* 14. 26. Songs by the ſpirit, unleſſe in extraordinary perſon, are ſubject to errour, 1 *Cor.* 14. 29, 32. Songs of Scripture are authenticke as all other Scriptures are, *Luk.* 24. 44. Secondly, becauſe God hath given men, not onely the faculty of ſpeaking, but alſo of ſinging, and all our faculties are to be uſed, in the praying of God, *Pſal.* 103. 1, 2. 1 *Cor.* 6. 20. Thirdly, becauſe the Church of old uſed to ſing ſuch Pſalmes, 2 *Chron.* 29. 28, 29, 30. Fourthly, becauſe all people are exhorted to ſing Pſalmes, not onely by *David*, but by the Apoſtles themſelves, *Eph.* 5. 19 *Col.* 3. 16. *Jam.* 5. 13.

The manner of ſinging, is to be holy, reverent, grave, orderly, with underſtanding, feeling, and comfort, to the edification of the Church, *Pſal.* 93. 5. and 5. 7. & 44. & 7. & 33. 2 *Cor.* 14. 15. 19. 44. Inſtru-

ments

nients of muſicke were coannexed to the ſongs in the Temple, as incenſe to the prayers, 2 *Chron.* 29. Such ſhadowes are ceaſed, but the ſubſtance remaineth. The times of Pſalmes were not preſcribed, but left to the diſcretion of the ſingers; each country therefore is to uſe the moſt decent order and manner of ſinging, according to forme given, 1 *Cor.* 14. 40. *Pſal.* 93. 5.

Eph. 5. 19. Rev. 14. 2, 3.

The rules of ſinging Pſalmes are, 1 The glory of God, and celebrating his name, 2 Teaching, inſtructing and comforting our ſelves, and one another, *Pſal.* 78. *Col.* 3. *Eph.* 5. 3 The allaying of our inordinate affections, of ſorrow, griefe, care. 4 The ſtirring up of good affections in us, as zeale, fervencie, 2 *Sam.* 6. 15, 16. *Pſal.* 57. 7, 8. 5 Faculty and eaſe to learne the Lawes of God with delight, *Deut.* 32.

Pſal. 92. 1.

2 King. 3. 14, 15.

The ſaving grace of God teacheth us to live ſoberly, in reſpect of our ſelves, righteouſly towards God, and godly in this preſent world, *Tit.* 4. 1, 11, 12.

Of mans duty towards himſelfe.

Our duties towards our ſelves are:

1 Love of our ſelves, as is meet, taught all men by nature, *Eph.* 5. 29. by Gods Law, *Love thy neighbour as thy ſelfe*; by the law of grace, 1 *Cor.* 3. 16, & 6. 19. but immoderate ſelfe-love is vice, 2 *Tim.* 3. 2.

2 Sobriety, or moderation in getting worldly goods; this grace is, contentation with that a man hath, *Heb.* 13. 5. 1 *Tim.* 6. 6, 8. Againſt which is covetouſneſſe, which pierceth men with many ſorrowes, 1 *Tim.* 6. 10. Alſo contempt of Gods bleſſings is againſt this grace, *Prov.* 30. 8. *Eccleſ.* 7. 11.

Eccleſ. 2. 16.

3 Spending goods gotten, neither ſumptuouſly, waſtfully, or niggardly, *Luk.* 15. 14. *Prov.* 32. 15. but to uſe and expend them moderately, and thriftily.

Eccleſ. 5. 13, 17, 18, 19.

4 Temperance, in eating and drinking, *Eccleſ.* 10. 16, 17. Oppoſite hereunto is gluttony and drunkenneſſe, which ſurfeteth the body, and corrupteth the mind, and pining the body with too much faſting, or evill fare. 1 *Tim.* 5. 23.

Rom. 13. 13.

5 Con-

5 Conſtancie, or chaſtity, in the ſober uſe of marriage, or in the holy uſe of ſingle life, oppoſite whereunto is exceſſe of venery, whoredome, fornication, and burning luſts, which deſtroy body and ſoule, 1 *Cor.*6.18. *Prov.*5.8,9,11. & 13.3. 1 Cor.7.9.

6 Magnanimity or courage in enterprising hard or laborious things, not being too bold, nor too fearfull, *Prov.* 28. 1. Uſe of this in the warres, *Eſay* 7. 2,3.

Patience to beare troubles, with an equall and unbroken mind: againſt which are raſh thruſting our ſelves into danger, tempting God, and feare, anger, impatience, alſo inſenſibleneſſe of affliction, *Prov.*23. 35.

8 Modeſty in the moderating our deſire of honour, and glory, that wee deſire it not more than is meet, nor for it ſelfe, but for our incouragement to good, nor from evill men, but from good, and that it be for vertues ſake: againſt which are ambition and love of vaine glory, and too much contempt or neglect of our owne good name or honour, *Prov.*22. 1. Eccleſ. 7. 1.

9 Diligent labour of the body and mind, in the ſweat of our face, but without too much care of the mind: againſt which are exceſſive toyle, and ſloth, *Mat.* 6. 31,34. *Eccleſ.*4.8. & 5. 17. *Prov.*14. 23. & 19. 24. *Eccl.*10. 18.

10 To moderate our reſt, and keepe a meaſure in ſleeping and waking, *Prov.*6.9,10,11. Eccleſ.2.23.

Gods Will meaneth either 1 the faculty of willing, or 2 the act of willing, or 3 the object, that is, the thing willed: In the firſt and ſecond meaning, Gods Will differeth not really from his eſſence, or being; in the third, it really differeth, as hee willeth other things beſides himſelfe: In the firſt and ſecond meaning there can be no cauſe properly aſſigned, for there is no cauſe ſuperiour to God himſelfe; in the third meaning, *vid.* the outward object or thing willed, it hath a cauſe of abſolute neceſſity. God willeth *Of Gods Will.*

himſelfe

himselfe onely, but of other things without himselfe, he willeth onely of conditionall necessity, or most freely: of conditionall necessity, because such things as hee actually willeth, hee cannot but will, seing his will is unchangeable; most free he willeth, because he was indifferent, by himselfe to will this, or that thing without himselfe.

In the third meaning, Gods will may change, as he would of old be worshipped by sacrifices of beasts, but now since Christs death, hee will not so be worshipped, *Joh.* 4. In the 1. and 2. meaning, Gods will is unchangeable, neither doth God begin to will that which before hee would not, nor ever ceaseth to will that which before hee would. So it is one thing for God to change his will, which can never be; another thing to will the change of the thing, which before he would, which is often.

Quest. Seing Gods will is the first, and universall cause of all things, and that cannot be changed, nor hindered, whether doth Gods will impose a necessity upon the things that hee would have done?

Answ. It doth on some things, but not on all, for seeing his will is most effectuall, therfore not only are these things done, which he wold have done, but they are done after that maner which he would: now God would have some things done necessarily, and some things contingently; and therefore he hath for some things fitted necessary causes, by forte whereof they are necessarily done; and for some things contingent causes, whereby they are contingently done. And seing his will is unchangeable, and not letted, it followeth, that not onely those things are done which hee would to have done, but also those things are done contingently, or necessarily, which hee would have so to be done: so things have such a necessity, as God would they should; to wit, either absolute necessity, or conditionall.

Touching;

Touching evill things, neither is it Gods will they ſhould be, neither is it his will they ſhould not be, but it is his will to ſuffer them to be done; it is not his will that they ſhould be, becauſe they be not good of themſelves, but by accident: it is his will to ſuffer them to be done, becauſe of his wiſedome, and goodneſſe, he can bring forth good out of ſinfull actions. Things muſt not be eſteemed as they are by accident, but as they are of themſelves.

God hath dominion over all things by creation, exerciſed as a creator: it may be called Lordly power, which he uſeth, or may uſe without any intention of the good, or profit of the creature. *Of Gods dominion, and ſoveraignty.*

Secondly, as a King or Father, which power hee uſeth of his goodneſſe, and ſufficient grace, with the intendement of the creatures good alſo, and therupon maketh atonement with men, that they might ſerve him, not ſo much of duty and neceſſity, as of free, and voluntary obedience: wherefore his commandement hath ſtipulations or duties required of us, and promiſes of further good, to be performed unto us: And the covenants of God with men are of two ſorts;

1 Legall, when upon condition of preſent, and continued obedience to all his precepts, hee promiſeth life eternall.

2 Evangelicall, when upon condition of repentance, faith, and newneſſe of life, hee promiſeth forgiveneſſe of ſinnes, and eternall life through Chriſt.

Thirdly, as Judge & avenger, which power he exerciſeth, when men forgetting or neglecting his covenant made out of his love, and grace, do ſinne, and provoke his wrath, whereupon hee inflicteth puniſhment on the bodies and ſoules of ſinners. There is not, nor can be imagined, a greater dominion, ſoveraignty, and power, than the Creator hath over his creatures; for it being abſolute, hee may nullifie, and bring to

nothing his creatures, as hee made them of nothing, if he ſo pleaſe, and ſo long as the creature hath beeing, he may command it wholly, and every part: and this power and dominion is ſo proper to God, as it cannot be to any other.

After the ſinne of man, there was due to all mankind, Gods wrath, and our eternall puniſhment: but God pitying our miſery, hath reſtored us by grace in Chriſt, whereupon ariſeth another right, and ſoveraignty, which God hath over us, not onely as Creator, but as reſtorer; in which name hee hath power to command, and wee are in duty to obey.

Of Afflictions.

God afflicteth his children:

1 For his owne Glory.

2 For their good and ſalvation.

3 For the profit of others.

Firſt, for his own glory, Iſrael was afflicted in Egypt, that his power and goodneſſe might appeare in their deliverance.

Secondly, for our good, ſeven wayes.

2 Cor. 12. 1 To humble us, and keepe us from ſinning.

2 To worke repentance in us, *Heb.* 6. 1 *Cor.* 11.

Heb. 4. 15. 3 To make us compaſſionate towards others.

4 To ſtirre us up to prayer, *Pſal.* 50. 15.

Rom. 8. 5 To try our faith and patience, *Jam.* 1.

6 To worke in us a loathing of this life, and love of a better.

7 To teſtifie his love unto us, as unto children, *Heb.* 12.

Thirdly, for the profit of others, three wayes.

1 That ſeeing our affliction they might take warning.

2 Seeing our faith and patience they might be comforted.

3 Seeing our deliverance they may be confirmed.

Two evils we muſt take heed of when God afflicteth

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us; first, that we despise them not, or make no use of them, *Esay* 1. Secondly, that we faint not under the burthen of them. Prov. 3. Heb. 12. 1.

Of the feare of God.

Feare is sometime by figure, put for the whole worship and service of God: *Esay* 29. 13. with *Mat.* 15. 9. sometime particularly for an affection of the heart shunning evill.

Three sorts of feare were in *Adam*, and are yet in the world: 1 The feare which he had in his integrity, which is yet in the Angels. 2 The feare which he had being falne into sinne, which is yet in devils, and wicked men. 3 The feare which he had when hee was regenerated, by the promise and grace of Christ, which is yet in all Saints.

1 The feare which he had in his integrity, is whereby he eschewed sinne, and the punishment of sinne, but without sorrow, because hee was without sinne, and free from punishment.

2 His feare, when hee was falne from God, was whereby he was afraid of punishment, but without faith, or desire of leaving sinne, and so fleeing from God.

3 His feare when he was regenerate, was whereby he acknowledging his sinne, and Gods wrath for it, he was very sorrowfull for his sinne, committed to the offence of God, and feared to sinne any more, having a care, & desire to eschew all evill, because he knew & felt Gods mercy towards him in Christ, *Prov.* 14. 17.

God is loved in respect of his goodnesse, as a Father; he is feared in respect of his power, and justice, as a Lord. The feare of the Lord is to hate iniquity, *Prov.* 8. 13. and by his feare men depart from evill, *Prov.* 16. 6. but the wicked runne into evill, and the feare that is in them is in respect of Gods wrath, and their torment, not hating their sinne, but God, who punisheth them. Godly feare ariseth from the feeling Mal. 1. 6. Deut. 25. 15. Gen. 20. 11.

of Gods mercy. *Pſal.*130.4. Sinfull feare ariſeth from the feeling of mans miſery onely, *Gen.*3.10.

Godly feare draweth us neare to him, *Pſal.* 5.7. but ſinfull feare draweth men from God, as *Adam* fled from his preſence.

Prov.18.14. 1 Pet.1.17. Godly feare is in the Saints continually, *Prov.*23.17. Sinfull feare is by fits, when God appeareth, or when his judgements are revealed, *Eſay* 7.1, 2. but oft times the wicked are ſecure, *Ezek.*8.12. Godly feare is joyned with faith, hope, and love of God, *Pſal.* 33.18. *Prov.* 24.26. *Jer.* 39.32.40. but ſinfull is deſtitute of faith, accompanied with torment, and deſpaire.

Pſal.94.1.

1 Joh 5.4, 18.

Godly feare is an holy affection, whereby we feare to offend God, not only becauſe wee ſhall be puniſhed, but chiefly becauſe we account it moſt unworthy, and unjuſt to offend him, who is moſt great in power, and good in grace, who hath ſhewed ſuch Fatherly love, and mercy towards us: To whom be all Glory for ever.

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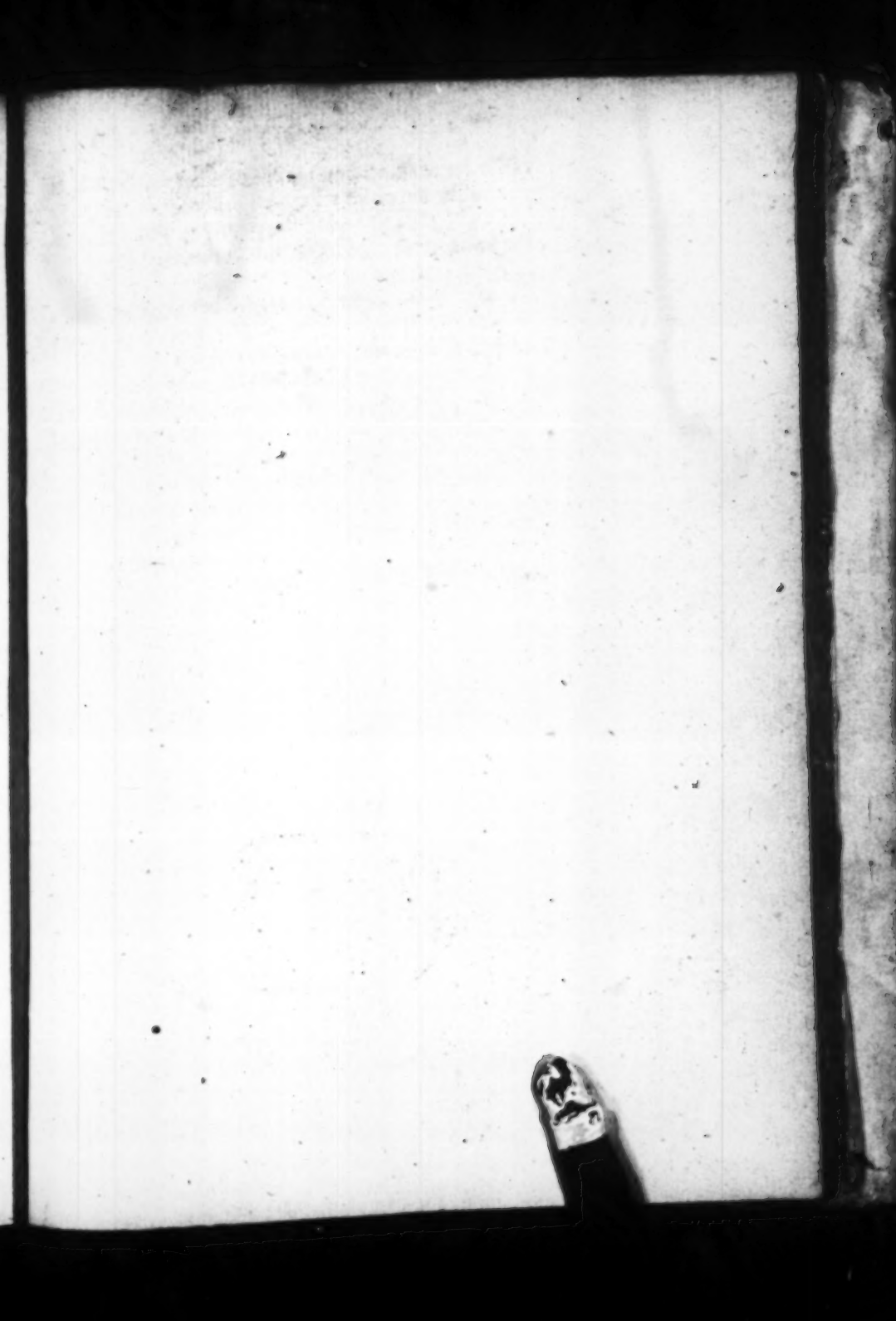
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